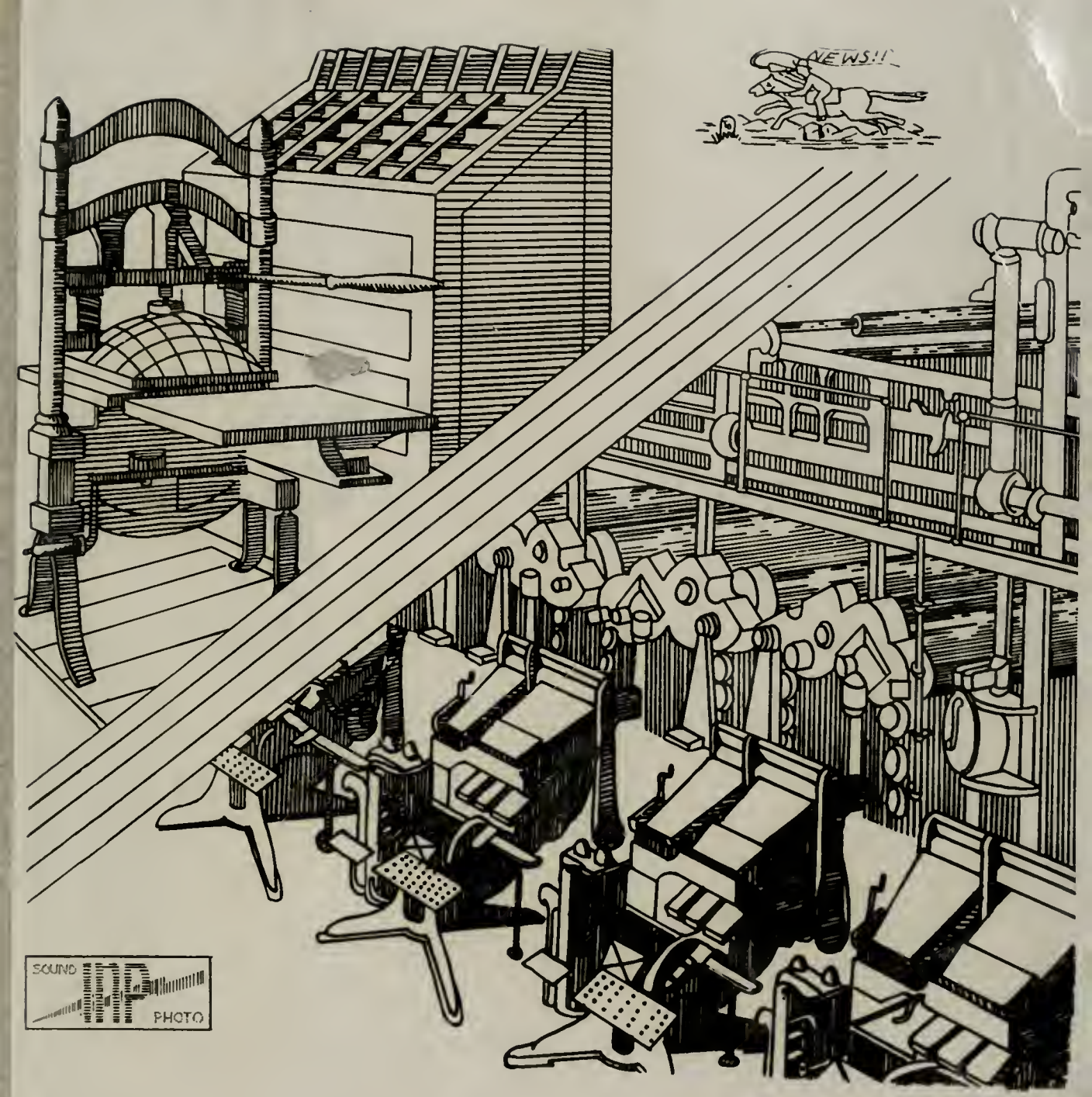
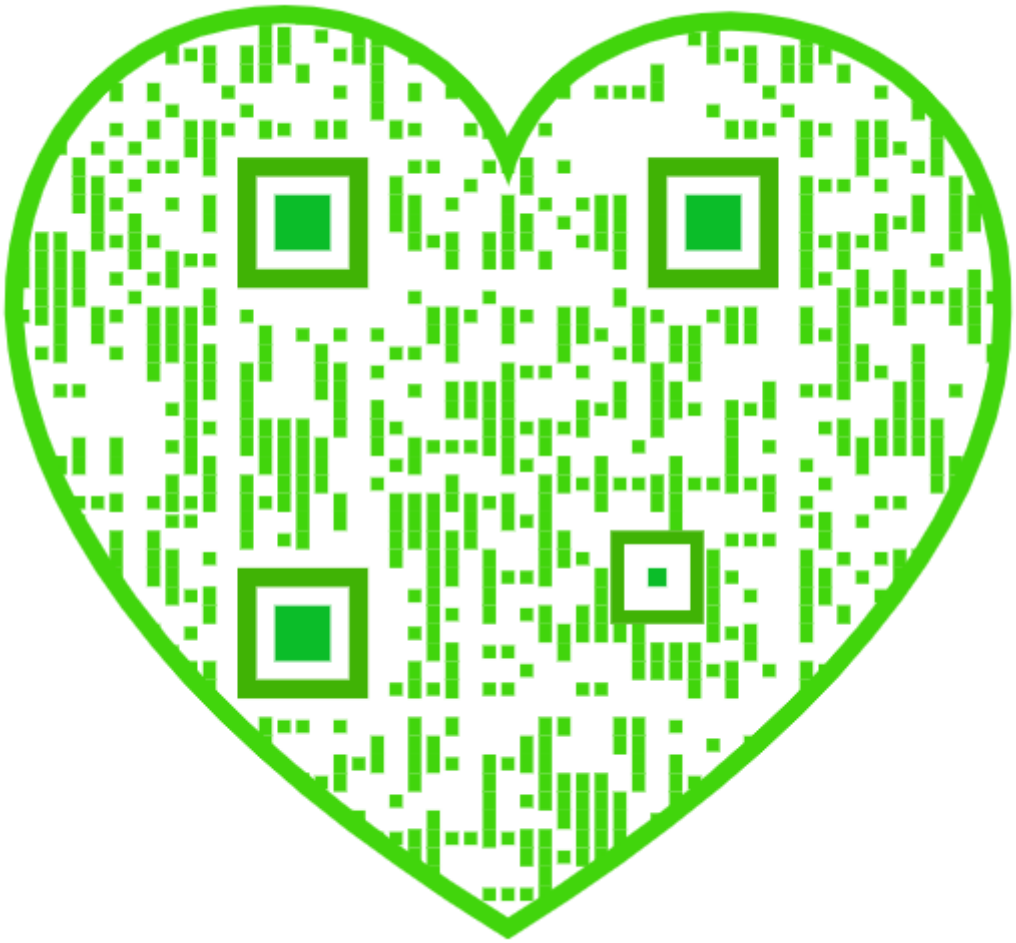


HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND NEWSPAPER GUILD

Volume III



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HISTORY OF THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND NEWSPAPER GUILD

By

Russell Quinn

VOLUME III

(Assistance in the compilation of source material by
Isom Shepard and Florence Bradley)

E. L. Daggett, Supervisor

W.P.A. 10008 San Francisco, August 1940. O.P. 665-3-08-12
Sponsored by the City and County of San Francisco. Prepared with the assistance of Work Projects Administration of Northern California, William R. Lawson, State Administrator.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This study is in no way an attempt to package up the history of the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild and present it to the profession and students of newspaper unions as a complete chronicle of a white-collar organization. Rather it simply is a delineation of some of the events and issues considered by active Guild members to be major factors in the evolution of the union, from its inception in 1933 to the securing of the modified Guild Shop in July 1939.

Sincere thanks are expressed to the members and officers of the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild, which co-sponsors the History of Journalism project, and to the parent body, the American Newspaper Guild, for making available the material presented herein, and for their many pertinent criticisms and suggestions during the monograph's compilation.

Personal interviews with Guild pioneers available in San Francisco during various stages of the study's development provided a most fruitful source of material not recorded elsewhere. Serious effort has been made to reconcile differences of Guild opinion over minor details, and in mat-

ters concerned with the hierarchy of external forces bearing upon the life and growth of the Guild.

The study has been revised several times, particularly the chapter dealing with contract negotiations. The first draft was read and criticized by Don Wiley, Evelyn and Lloyd Thompson and Charles L. Irvine, of the Guild, and Sam Kagel of the Pacific Coast Labor Bureau. The chapter on negotiations has been further revised to include material suggested by Mr. Irvine and Mr. Kagel. We also are indebted to Arthur Eggleston, labor editor of the Chronicle, for suggestions on source material. Invaluable assistance was given by Luella K. Sawyer, of the Guild Freelance unit, who located and compiled a major part of the source material and conducted numerous interviews with Guild personalities. Her willing cooperation, extending over many months, contributed greatly toward the solution of the complex research problem represented. Much more opinion appears to have been published by "outside" observers over the membership's reaction to any given event or situation, than has been recorded by the membership.

The chapter dealing with Guild pioneers will be found to be incomplete. There is so much to be said concerning the past and present leaders of the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild that this project contemplates the publication of a separate volume, "Gentlemen of the Press," in which it is hoped they all will be given due recognition.

Of inestimable value during the life of the project has been the continuous flow of counsel and criticism from Dr. James B. Sharp, until recently State Supervisor, Research and Records section, of the Work Projects Administration. His interest in the direction and quality of project research during his administration was a constant source of stimulation to the staff.

It is difficult to adequately express our appreciation for the efficient cooperation given the project by Miss M. P. Hagan, San Francisco District Director, Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Without her assistance in anticipating and solving the manifold problems of project operation, this publication series would have been impossible of achievement.

Other project studies in preparation at the present time are: "Libel and the Press," an analysis of libel laws and their application to San Francisco's newspapers, from 1850 to 1940; "Gentlemen of the Press," biographies of San Francisco's newspapermen and women from pioneer days forward and "An Anthology of Editorials," outstanding editorials on the current issues of each decade, 1850-1900.

E.L.D.

August
1940

A B B R E V I A T I O N S U S E D

AFL - American Federation of Labor

ANG - American Newspaper Guild

ANGA - American Newspaper Guild Auxiliary

AP - Associated Press

CIO - Congress of Industrial Organizations

IAEB - International Auxiliary Executive Board

IEB - International Executive Board

ITU - International Typographical Union

NIB - Newspaper Industrial Board

NLRB - National Labor Relations Board

NRA - National Recovery Administration and Act

RLB - Regional Labor Board

SF-ONG - San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild

UP - United Press

WPA - Work Projects Administration

CHAPTER I.

FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD

By March of 1933 the United States had touched the rock-bottom of the economic depression. Three and a half months after President Roosevelt's inaugural address Congress approved his National Recovery Act. Under this Act codes of fair competition in business were put into operation. All trades and industrial associations were eligible to receive benefits under the NRA upon filing with the President a statement containing such information relating to its activities as the President prescribed by regulation.

The most portentious and controversial portion of the act was the now famous section 7a which reads:

> Every code of fair competition, agreement and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions: (1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of

> employment to join any company union or refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own ehoosing; and (3)that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

The relief-seeking businessmen who stormed the Capital early in March to ask that heroic steps be taken to save the country were not tardy in becoming alarmed at the magna-charta guarantees this section offered labor. Nor was labor hesitant about being taken out of the competitive market, and a mighty upsurge of unionism swept over the labor movement. As the news gatherers recorded these events it occurred to liberal columnist Heywood Broun,and to others,that, as well as being a chronicler of the American scene, it was time now that the newspaper reporter become part of it. To all the benefits to business and labor available under the NRA, the reporter and editorial writer had been excluded. So in his syndicated column of August 8, 1933, Broun wrote:

> There has been no mention of an organization of newspaper men and women. There should be one. On the morning of October 10 at 9:00 a.m. I am going to start one.

The statement proved not to be one of Mr. Broun's idle whimseys. Even before his deadline he began working on his organization.

Attempts to unionize newspaper employes, however, did not begin with the columnist's declaration of August 8,

1933, For a full century[1] employes of newspaper plants had been attempting to organize themselves into lasting associations in order to protect and improve their conditions of employment. Their major problems were essentially always the same: to overcome employer opposition to labor organizations; to increase and coordinate their membership in order to achieve bargaining power commensurate with that of large-scale industry and publishers' associations; and to establish orderly collective bargaining procedures which would minimize industrial strife. The mechanical departments were comparatively successful in gradually attaining these ends, but due to various circumstances editorial departments' successes along these lines were negligible.

It was not until the decade of the 1890's that trade-unionism appeared in the newsroom. Its advance was slow and sporadic, due to publisher opposition and a conception that reporting was different from other types of industrial occupations. The reporter considered himself not quite a professional man nor a laborer. His was a romantic occupation and if he considered it in any other terms it was usually as a prelude to a high-salaried journalistic or publishing career, which usually failed to materialize. The burden of improving wages and working conditions rested on him as an

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1. Collective Bargaining in the Newspaper Industry. Bulletin No. 3; National Labor Relations Board. Page 68

individual, and consequently the early newswriting organizations followed a pattern of social press clubs or journalistic societies where professional criticism was tempered with good cheer.

With the opening of the 1890's, however, when muckrakers were dynamically examining the sore spots in America's social life, a small parcel of thought was given to improving the lot of the newswriter. To some, a semi-professional caste was no longer an adequate reward for long hours, job insecurity, and low wages. An investigating commission[1] found that:

> The newspaper writers, owing to the nature of their occupation, have not been able to restrict the hours as men have been who are employed steadily at one particular place and whose labor, that is, the work to be performed, is known when the day's work is begun. When the newspaper writers start on their day's work they have not a fixed task before them.The task may develop as the time passes and before the day is concluded they have perhaps worked 24 hours without completing the work assigned.

This condition, with another factor, reacted to draw the individualistic reporter into unionism. The International Typographical Union had been organized on an industrial basis and it became desirous of including the newswriters in its union largely for the purpose of eliminating the occasional "reporter scabbing" that occurred during ITU strikes. So in 1891 the Union amended its constitution to

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1. Testimony of President Samuel B. Donnelly of the International Typographical Union, U.S. Commission on Relations and Conditions of Capital and Labor, Report, 1901. vol. 7, p. 275.

authorize the issuance of charters to editors and reporters.[1] The first local charter was granted to the newsmen of Pittsburg.

Continuing unionization proceeded indifferently through the decade. Only 12 more charters were issued; these were to isolated groups in Pennsylvania, Colorado, California, New York, Massachusetts, Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Many of the locals did not retain their charters for an extended length of time. At the turn of the century there was a surge of organizing activity. Between 1899 and 1904 twenty-one locals were chartered by the ITU, but they were all short-lived. In 1906 the newswriters' locals failed to have representatives at the ITU convention, and the following year all reference to newswriters' locals was struck from the ITU constitution.[2]

The high mortality rate seemed to be due more to internal than to external troubles. The locals were rarely ever strong enough to challenge the publishers; so the publishers encountered little effective resistance from them. The fundamental principles of trade-unionism had not yet been understood by the "white-collar" workers, and this, coupled with inefficient leadership and the high degree of turnover among newspapermen, proved to be the greatest difficulties. Of these locals two carried on to 1923, and only one of these

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1. History of the Typographical Union, by George A. Tracy; published by the ITU, Indianapolis, Ind., 1913, p. 452.

2. Ibid., p. 538.

was still in operation in 1939. A charter was granted newsmen in San Francisco in 1902 but was suspended the following year.[1]

Conditions following the World War forced another wave of unionizing activity. The labor market was swelled by returning soldiers; and the syndicated method of handling news and editorial features depressed wages and job availability. The ITU again began issuing charters to newsmen but with scarcely any better success than obtained around 1900. The publishers now made more determined efforts to suppress union activity, and the old internal difficulties were still little changed. A local was again chartered in San Francisco in 1919, but again it lasted only a year. A few locals retained a semi-permanent, semi-union status and later formed the nuclei of the American Newspaper Guild. One local continues to the present writing with, according to one of the officers, an amazing degree of success. Tom V. Nealon of the Scranton local gave the following picture to the National Labor Relations Board:

> Back in 1907, when reporters on Scranton newspapers were being paid $9, $10, and $12 a week, we organized our union and our first agreement brought full-fledged reporters up to $23 a week. We have had agreements with the publishers ever since that time, most of the renewals having been made each year. Our present minimum wage scales are: First year, $22.50; second year,

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1. See list of newspaper writers' unions chartered by the ITU: Collective Bargaining in the Newspaper Industry; National Labor Relations Board bulletin No. 3, p. 108.

> $29.50; third year,$33.50; fourth year, $45.50; and fifth year, $55.50. The reporters on the morning paper receive $1 a week in excess of these rates. We have the 8-hour day, vacation of 2 weeks, no time off for illness or injury, and time and a half for overtime. Copy readers receive a minimum of $57.50 (afternoon and Sunday papers), and $60.50 (morning paper). City editors receive minimums of $64.50 (afternoon) and $67.50 (morning).
>
> Also we have the closed shop and new men are given 2 or 3 months leeway before it becomes necessary for them to join up.
>
> We have 3 newspapers here and our union has close to 50 members at present.
>
> Publishers are our guests each year at a banquet and during all the years that our union has been functioning we have never had any disputes which were more than trivial. I do not believe that the publishers would want to have reporters without a union. Our relations have been splendid during all the years that we have been in existence and I am certain a poll of the publishers would show them all in favor of the union being continued.[1]

In 1923 newswriters' organizations were at low ebb. There were only five chartered locals in existence. But these had sufficient dynamic effect of attracting the attention of the American Federation of Labor which at that time showed signs of reaching out from the introvert policies of Samuel Gompers. It began to charter Federal locals of newswriters with a policy of eventually forming a national union. The International Typographical Union cooperated by voluntarily surrendering jurisdiction over their chartered

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1. Files of the Division of Economic Research, National Labor Relations Board. See also Guild Reporter, Feb. 23, 1934.

locals to the AFL, with the proviso that no local would be compelled to withdraw. Two locals stayed with the ITU; the one in Milwaukee and the one in Scranton. The contemplated national union did not materialize although the AFL did charter nine locals. The immediate cause of union activity in 1923 was the collapse of two of New York's metropolitan papers -- the Globe and Commercial Advertiser and the Leader. But the effect of the collapse, throwing as it did many newsmen out of work, was not national enough in scope to have a substantial effect on newswriting organizations. The consolidation of the New York World with the New York Telegram in 1930, with the resultant discharge of several hundred employes, exemplified a more fundamental situation throughout the country.

A lone example of a continuing newsmen's union was the one in Boston. This was a grass-roots organization formed by editorial writers and reporters on June 5, 1894. On February 7, 1895, it became affiliated with the ITU and was given the title of Boston Newswriters' Union No. 1. It was represented in the Boston Central Labor Union, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, and at the conventions of the International Typographical Union. It also was affiliated with the Allied Printing Trades Council in Boston. For 25 years it held together without getting an agreement with local publishers. In 1919, however, it negotiated a memorandum agreement with the Boston Newspaper Publishers' Assoc-

tion for a 42-hour week,one day of rest in seven,compensation for sickness or disability occurring during the performance of duty, paid vacations, and a scale of minimum wages graduated according to ability. The agreement was renewed yearly up to 1925 when the publishers refused to continue it,but indicated that the same standards would be maintained. This was done until 1929. Along with a few other unions, it joined the AFL in 1923, but due to severe wage cuts and a general lowering of standards in 1929 it barely managed to survive. The American Newspaper Guild found it in this condition in 1933. Many of the unionists welcomed the Guild and joined it while retaining membership in the old organization. In 1936, when the Guild affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the local union was dissolved to become the Boston unit of the ANG and offered its experience to the young national organization.

From this background of newswriters' organizations it is small wonder that men like Heywood Broun saw in 1933 the need of a healthy cooperative body to consider the interests of newsmen. Broun had recognized this need many years before he wrote his memorable column of August 8. In 1920 he was the president of an unaffiliated New York newswriters' union, and in 1923 he was one of the leaders that pressed for a national organization. However, the economic conditions of 1933 had more convincing eloquence than a fifty-foot bookshelf of finely worded arguments. Laboring

men striving for the benefits of unionism under the protection of section 7a of the National Recovery Act set an example to unemployed newsmen who were hatching great ideas for social novels as they sat on park benches, and finally gave thought to their own economic plights. Within a few months after the passage of the Act, newswriters' organizations were formed in numerous cities throughout the country.

The NRA was based on the assumption that American business was capable of self-regulation. Each industry was instructed to submit a "code of fair competition" for itself which, upon the approval of the President or his administrator, would be put into effect. Hearings were held to cover all objections before the codes were approved. The employers had their organizations to submit the codes. Organized labor had its unions to look after the interest of labor under the codes.

The code for the newspaper publishing industry was submitted by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association on August 8, 1933. As was to be expected it made little provision for the newsmen. It was drawn up on the assumption that the term "labor" included workers in the mechanical and clerical departments only. It designated that all newswriters earning $35 a week or more were "professionals" and expressly exempted them from the 40-hour week maximum. It also placed the minimum wage rate for reporters at $11 to $15 per week. Reaction against the code sprang up from

newsmen throughout the country. Mass meetings were held in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and other cities. The obvious method of opposing the code was through organization. The writers in Manhattan formed the Newspaper Guild of New York with Heywood Broun as president. In Cleveland the Cleveland Editorial Employees' Association was formed. The news workers in the metropolitan area of Philadelphia-Camden also organized, as did those in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Boston already had its organization. Spontaneously the movement traveled across the country. Newsmen were not all agreed on what type of organization they should have, but the need for some sort of organization was apparent.

After a few informal meetings, three hundred New York reporters, rewrite men, and copy readers met in a mass meeting on September 17 and officially formed the New York Newspaper Guild. It elected a committee of seven to represent the organization before the National Recovery Administration and voted on demands to be presented at the hearings. These demands were for a 40-hour, five-day week, graded dismissal bonuses beginning after three years of service, a minimum wage of $35 a week for reporters with more than one year of service, and $40 for those with more than two years of service, the outlawing of the "yellow dog" contract, paid vacations, and the inclusion of the press associations in the code. Within a few days five hundred New York newspapermen and women agreed to support this statement of code policy.

Six days after this meeting the delegates from New York in Washington joined with delegates from other newsmen's organizations to present their demands at the code hearings. But here the delegates encountered the inherent difficulties of mushroom organizations. They were long on hopes but short on information. They had no comprehensive data on the working conditions of newsmen. They failed to obtain labor provisions for their fellow workers. The code was approved by the President on February 17, 1934, essentially as it had been submitted by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. However, the Association was allowed one loophole. The code empowered a Code Authority to conduct a study for the purpose of determining minimum wages and maximum hours for workers in the news departments. These hours and wages were then to be fixed by the Authority upon the approval of the National Recovery Administrator and made part of the code. Existing conditions were to be maintained until the findings were included in the code.

It was a concession; but the newsmen took cold comfort in it when they looked at the Code Authority. It consisted of ten publishers. The new organizations saw that they were in for a long pull. They began to realize that they would have to dig their roots in deeply and depend more and more upon themselves for the betterment of their own working conditions.

The delegates went back to their respective cities disappointed but with a task clearly outlined before them. Their organizations must be consolidated and propagated. The movement spread rapidly. In August of 1933 the organization had begun with a few scattered locals, but by November 1, Morris L. Ernst, in speaking for the New York Guild before officials of the National Recovery Administration, could say that his organization represented unions in 30 cities.[1] The New York Guild announced on November 23, 1933, that dues-collecting guilds were in existence in New York, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Duluth, Philadelphia, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Tulsa, and "smaller centers," and that others were in the process of being formed in Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Birmingham, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Honolulu, and "smaller cities." State and regional organizations were being formed in Ohio, Oklahoma, Westchester County, and northern New Jersey.[2] The time was obviously ripe for some national action. So the New York Guild called a national convention to be held on December 15, in Washington, D. C.

Delegates attended from 21 cities and carried with them proxies from guilds in 21 additional cities in the more distant areas. They met at the National Press Club in Wash-

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1. Hearings, Nov. 1, 1933

2. Guild Reporter, Nov. 23, 1933

ington and formed the American Newspaper Guild. Heywood Broun was elected president, Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary, and Emmet Crozier, treasurer. Their short constitution announced the purpose of the organization as being:

> ...to preserve the vocational interest of its members and to improve the conditions under which they work by collective bargaining, and to raise the standards of journalism by such methods as maybe deemed advisable by the executive committee of the National Guild.

The national union was based on the locals. The locals were based on municipal or metropolitan areas, and shop units in the local offices of papers, press associations, and feature syndicates.

Within six months the organizations had acquired 8,000 members and a national convention was called. This was held in St. Paul, Minn., between June 5 and 8, 1934. President Broun was pleased to announce that the first Guild contract had been signed on April 8, 1934. It was with J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia Record, a New Deal supporter who had been consistently friendly to the Guild.

Other locals had met publisher opposition, however, and the assembled delegates approved a list of suggested minimum contract provisions to be used as a basis for future negotiations between locals and publishers. Local negotiating committees were also advised to counsel more with com-

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1. Constitution, quoted in Guild Reporter, Jan. 12, 1934.

mittees in other cities and with the national officials before signing contracts.[1] Within six months of the founding of the organization the individualistic newsman was veering toward more cooperation and more centralization. The issue was forced by publisher opposition.

The following year the newsmen in convention analyzed themselves and their profession. They adopted the following code of ethics:

> 1) That the newspaperman's first duty is to give the public accurate and unbiased news reports, and that he be guided, in his contacts with the public, by a decent respect for the rights of individuals and groups.
>
> 2) That equality of all men before the law should be observed by the men of the press; that they should not be swayed in news reporting by political, economic, social, racial, or religious prejudices, but should be guided only by fact and fairness.
>
> 3) That newspapermen should presume persons accused of crime of being innocent until they are convicted, as is the case under law, and that news accounts dealing with accused persons should be in such form as not to mislead or prejudice the reading public.
>
> 4) That the guild should work through efforts of its members, or by agreement with editors and publishers, to curb the suppression of legitimate news concerning "privileged" persons or groups, including advertisers, commercial powers, and friends of newspapermen.
>
> 5) That newspapermen shall refuse to reveal confidence or disclose sources of confidential information in court or before other judicial investigating bodies; and that the newspapermen's duty to keep confidences shall include

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1. Guild Reporter, June 15, 1934.

> those he shared with one employer even after he has changed his employment.
>
> 6) That the news be edited exclusively in the editorial rooms instead of in the business office of the daily newspaper.
>
> 7) That newspapermen shall behave in a manner indicating independence and decent self-respect in the city room as well as outside, and shall avoid any demeanor that might be interpreted as a desire to curry favor with any person.[1]

By counseling the individual newspaperman toward decency and self-respect, the Guild itself was indicating its self-respect by parading in public view a few of the publishers' sacred cows. And some of the publishers didn't like it. Robert M. Buck, a national vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, stated in 1935 before a Senate Committee that this code of ethics was the basis for a large part of William Randolph Hearst's non-negotiatory attitude toward the Guild. He quoted Mr. Hearst as saying:

> I believe that newspapers should be let alone to do their duty to the public in their own way as they have faithfully done.[2]

This was not the only aspect of publisher opposition, which will be discussed in later chapters. By this time the American Newspaper Guild had become the official newsmen's organization throughout the country, a responsibility it soberly shouldered.

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1. U.S. Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, 74th Cong., 1st session, Hearings on S. 1958, (1935), p. 727-8.

2. Ibid, pp. 727-8. See also editorial in Editor and Publisher, June 16, 1934, p. 24.

CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND GUILD

The forces that hindered and the forces that helped to unionize the newsmen of San Francisco followed the pattern of the rest of the country. The exploitation of the American wilderness had about ceased at the turn of the century and to counteract an exploitation of labor, workingmen were organizing themselves into powerful unions. The newsmen delayed aligning themselves with labor on a caste-conscious theory that they were men set apart from other workers. But the depression that followed the stock market crash of 1929 broke sharply into this fantasy. It added its final pervasive argument to a growing feeling that the newspaper business was just that--a business. In the eyes of its employes it no longer was the colorful profession that it had been up to and during the early 1920's. An unemployed newspaperman enjoyed the same status as an unemployed sales clerk. As a matter of fact the sales clerk with a knowledge of shorthand and typing had a better opportunity for reemployment than the editorial worker.

With No Help Wanted signs strung up like Fourth of July banners from every office building throughout the nation, the opportunity to "graduate" into allied and at least as lucrative fields vanished. First and most burning of the newsman's grievances was job insecurity, according to those who recall the bleak, rock-bottom days of the depression. A job was a job. It was time to hang on to it with every toe hold possible and use the teeth also if necessary. A union at least might help to keep the job going and -- who knows? -- eventually make better and more secure jobs. Obviously it was worth a try. Once the ball was rolling and gains won, no course was open but to consolidate the Union's position and work to keep going forward. Never ebbing, publisher resistance required constant counter-resistance. The Guild was obliged to grow.

San Francisco has long been known as a newspaperman's town; and also as a union town. But efforts to unionize the newsrooms met with as little success before 1933 as elsewhere in the country. The International Typographical Union made two attempts to organize the newsmen of San Francisco, first in 1902 and again in 1919, but in each instance the union lasted only one year. But if the newsmen were slow in organizing for their personal benefit, their sympathy toward labor was traditional. As far back as 1886, they substantially aided the local typographical union in successfully concluding a strike against two of the city's most powerful

newspapers, the Morning Call and the Evening Bulletin. The owners of these papers, Loring Pickering and George K. Fitch, had embarked on a union-smashing program; a showdown resulted from the struggle that followed. The citizens were asked to boycott the two papers;and to fill the gap the newsmen joined with the printers in getting out 40,000 copies of a strike sheet called The Pacific Coast Boycotter. After a month of decreasing advertising and circulation, the owners admitted defeat and the men returned to work. To celebrate the victory Governor Stoneman of California declared a legal holiday and marched at the head of ten miles of unionists to Woodward's Gardens for a fun-fest.[1]

The San Francisco and Oakland newspapers shared fully in the 1931-1933 depression; advertising cuts were taken, circulation dropped and the editorial worker was affected as a result.

Employes on Hearst publications suffered heavily. While the upper-bracket men of the nation-wide chain enjoyed a certain immunity from reductions, the middle and lower salaried ones were hard hit.

Three pay cuts followed one another locally in rapid succession. The first, according to former Northern California Newspaper Guild President (1936) Howard Hill, was

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1. A History of the Labor Movement in California, by Ira B. Cross, University of California Press, pp. 179-81.

accompanied by the explanation: "When conditions are better, pay cuts will be restored. It is up to employes fortunate enough to be working full time on a job to share in the burden of this depression."

A second pay cut followed (on the Oakland Post-Enquirer, and the Call-Bulletin and the Examiner in San Francisco) after a brusque warning. The third was effected with neither warning nor apology.

These pay cuts were not restored after the inauguration of the NRA, nor was a succeeding improvement of conditions noticeable. Gradually, however, a few top executives had cuts restored, but not the lower-paid ones. Rumors of favoritism by the management of top-flight men whose salaries ran into thousand of dollars a year cut deeply into the morale of the staff.

A sense of job insecurity seems to have been deeply rooted in all Hearst employes. It was not uncommon for rumors to sweep the staffs that complete departments were to be eliminated, leaving entire groups without employment.

According to an old Guildsman:

> It was the terrible fear all the while. Wages were cut and cut. Employes were exploited. The management took advantage of the unrest to work men with years of experience at exceedingly low pay. One top flight artist with years of experience behind him was forced to work for $20 a week. A prominent editorial man left the Hearst ranks to take up a job with an Eastern magazine. When he later returned, his original pay of $125 a week was cut to $75.

Another morale-weakening practise was the policy of allowing persons to work on the staff at no wages--" just for experience." These persons were usually socialites who had no need for wages but liked the thrill of newspaper life.

When reaction to these conditions,prevalent throughout the country, contributed to the formation of the American Newspaper Guild,the newsmen of San Francisco and Oakland were not long in joining the movement. Don Stevens of the San Francisco Examiner distributed Guild literature and talked to employes in off hours. The result was a meeting in the San Francisco Press Club in March 1934 to form what is now the powerful San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild. Approximately sixty people attended the meeting, among whom were those who later made not only local but national Guild history.

A direct incentive toward this meeting was NRA administrator Hugh S. Johnson's approval of the newspaper Code Authority's findings on conditions in the newsroom. These went into effect the preceding month and provided a 40-hour, five-day week, but with minimum wages of $15 per week.Apprentices were allowed up to ten percent of the staff. Newsmen realized that they could not expect too much from the Government, especially as the publishers were already threatening to withdraw from the Code because of a stated fear that section 7a violated the "freedom of the press."

Despite an obvious need for organization, the news-

man was not to be stampeded. With the exception of certain leaders, few understood the principles of unionism. Some, hoping for immediate benefits, joined with alacrity only to wilt under publisher pressure. Unschooled as they were in labor history, uncertain as to their status in the labor movement or the welcome they would be accorded in it, and fearful of the effect Guild membership might have on their graduation into other professional and executive fields, the neophyte Guildsmen joined not without indecision.

Howard Hill describes an early Guild meeting:

> Men had to be educated to knowing what a labor movement was. In the early days when a Guild meeting was held there were usually about enough to sit around a small table in the Press Club or at someone's house. Some had to be nursed along like babies. Questions of left or right had a habit of popping into the movement. Some men who were later to become the most ardent Guildsmen were the most conservative in the early days. They had no sense of social consciousness, no solidarity then. All talk, talk and then some of them fell like tenpins when the heat was put on.

According to Louis Burgess, there were two main groups active in organizing the Guild, the low-paid, insecure group with a direct economic motive for organizing, and a middle bracket, socially conscious group who had little economic reason for organizing. The former gave strength, the later, leadership and direction. Typical of this middle bracket group were men and women like Lloyd and Evelyn Thompson, Burgess, Redfern Mason, Don Stevens and Betty

Ballantine. They all made good salaries and were valued by their managements. For them Guild activity meant everything to lose.Their services were offered from intellectual conviction and a deep-seated belief in unionism. They saw the Guild as a wholesome force operating in the life of the community.

With the majority of Guildsmen, knowledge of how to effect organization was vague. A constitution committee was formed to create a local constitution. It met on Sundays at the Press Club and wrestled with the problems of big and little units. The Examiner unit had many members while some of the other units had only a few. To lend unity, it was decided to give to each unit equal representation. The men on the executive committee were made ex-officio members of the constitution committee.

Another issue which disturbed the local Guild was the "exclusionist-inclusionist" problem. Craft-unionism was still the generally accepted guide to labor organization, but some of the Guild leaders sensed an inadequacy therein. A strike could be more easily won if all the workers in the newsroom could be "pulled out"--the copy boy, the telephone girl, as well as the newsmen. And the fraternity of the newsroom would be greatly enhanced if all the office workers were enjoying the benefits of the Guild. Members holding these views were known as the "inclusionist" group.

This step toward industrial unionization (although

the term was hardly known then) met the determined opposition of the "exclusionist" group. Craft-unionism was the aristocratic tradition of American labor. Newsmen were just beginning to accept the status of laborers. Some could accept for themselves the title of aristocrats of organized labor but to be asked to align themselves with all labor was preposterous. This issue produced many controversies. The"inclusionist" applied such terms as "cane-toters," "gentlemen," and "professional men" to the "exclusionists," who were heavily vested with a "professionalism" which the "inclusionists" considered a sop which had too long reacted against newsmen.

But even the "inclusionists" who were more or less consciously plugging for industrial unionism did not realize that they were thinking in terms of trade-unionism. They would honestly disavow any such intention upon being challenged. They were merely working for the most effective organization as they saw it. When affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was discussed, strong disapproval was voiced by men who later campaigned for affiliation with the CIO. The members were feeling their way. When Edward Vandeleur, the state AFL secretary, attended a meeting of the Guild and offered his organization's support there was much resentment against it.

Guild membership became a burning issue in the newsrooms of San Francisco-Oakland. Increasing membership was not accomplished without personal conflicts. Friends of many

years standing took sharp issue with each other on the union. As one early Guildsman recalls:

> The pain of breaking old ties was extreme. I lost many contacts because of my firm determination and belief in Guild organization. There were some with liberal ideas who were afraid to admit them and there were also, I am sorry to say, the "rats" who climbed over guildsmen to monied success.

Diverse patterns of human nature were encountered. One employe was alleged to be getting an extra ten-dollar bill in his weekly pay envelope in exchange for information on the Guild. The members put him in "coventry." If he walked into a bar where two guildsmen were talking, they would carry on a conversation directly through and over him. Liberal theorists quit the Guild under fire. Several Guild officers retreated under publisher pressure. The least prepossessing members often proved the sturdiest. Face-to-face issues changed conservatives into liberals, liberals into conservatives, timid souls into leaders, leaders into yes-men.

The local was only a month old when the displeasure of the powerful Hearst interests was turned against it. Most of the bay area publishers disapproved of the Guild. They tried to discourage it. Middle-bracket men were taken aside by the managements and talked to as man to man, or gentleman to gentleman. Tersely, the typical argument was: You have no interest in these guys hanging on to the copy desk. You are on the inside. What do you want with a Guild? Why worry about those down below?

The argument proved ineffective. Most of these men were envisioning a better America. They wanted to contribute to it. The attack was then brought out into the open.

Units had been formed on the Examiner, the Call-Bulletin, the News, and the Oakland Post-Enquirer. They held their first meeting in March 1934. In April, ANG president, Heywood Broun, asked all locals to report whether or not section 7a was being complied with by the publishers. Louis Burgess, as chairman of the Examiner unit, called on publisher Lindner to secure proof of his paper's compliance. Following the interview Burgess was dismissed on a telephone order from Hearst. The stated reason was that he "was no longer needed around the paper."

Guild members rose to the challenge. Strike sentiment was strong. But Heywood Broun counseled patience. A strike might be disasterous. Here was an opportunity to measure the new National Labor Relations Board. The Guild asked the Regional Labor Board to order Burgess reinstated "in any capacity." John Francis Neylan, general counsel for Hearst, refused to recognize the board's jurisdiction. He blandly advised it that no one could tell a publisher who was to write his editorials. The case went to Washington and back to San Francisco. The machinery to enforce labor's new magna charta was cumbersome; and the ones to enforce it, inexperienced. The publisher's attorneys were able to resort to technical loopholes and traditional platitudes. The

emotional issue of "the freedom of the press" was raised. The Burgess case was dismissed for "lack of evidence." The young Guild began to see the nature of the fight it was in and learned that its strength must lie within itself.

The vacillations, the indecisions, the hesitant steps, the vague feelings over what sort of organization the Guild should become were now all being resolved into a clear-cut program under publisher attacks. The local had challenged the publishers; it had lost the first round.

CHAPTER III

SOME EARLY CASUALTIES

Hearst was not through with the Guild, nor was the Guild through with Hearst. A case that was to make national guild and labor history began evolving in the spring of 1934. Dean S. Jennings had been employed for five and a half years as chief rewrite man on the Call-Bulletin. His name had been proposed as a delegate to the National convention of the ANG which was to be held at St. Paul, from June 4 to 7. Jennings planned, if elected delegate, to take his two-week vacation at that time. The practice had been for the editorial staff to arrange their vacations with Mr. Cromwell, assistant city editor, who kept a book for that purpose and made the assignment of dates. Early in May, Jennings indicated to Cromwell that he wanted to begin his vacation about June 1, explaining that he chose this date in order to attend the convention. Cromwell replied that this date was satisfactory, as no one else had applied for a vacation at that time.[1]

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1. Sequence of these, and following events, secured from transcript of testimony before R.L.B..

Having been duly elected a delegate, Jennings went to Cromwell on May 25 and informed him that he planned to leave the following Wednesday, May 30. Cromwell is reported to have said, "That's fine." But when he came to work on the morning of May 26, Jennings was surprised to be told by Cromwell that he had better take up the question of his vacation with Edgar (Scoop) Gleeson, the city editor. Discussions followed with Gleeson, with Mr. Mulcahy, the managing editor, and finally, on May 28, with Mr. Holliday, the publisher. Each insisted that Jennings could not be spared at the time he wanted to leave, because the paper was short-handed. It was claimed that Hosler, a reporter, was away and not due to return until June 4; that Johnson, the drama editor, would be away during that time, and that another man would have to be taken from the editorial staff to fill his place. Jennings later testified, however, that he checked with Cromwell as to this, and was told that Hosler was due back June 4; that Johnson's vacation was listed to start on June 24; and that no one but he (Jennings) would be away during the two weeks following June 4.

Jennings urged without success that he had made plans to motor to the convention with his wife. Gleeson criticized the Guild as serving no useful purpose and told Jennings that the publisher had wanted to "Fire the whole staff" of those who belong to it. Mulcahy asked him if he was working for the Guild or for the paper. Jennings offered

to delay a day. Members of the staff volunteered to fill his place for the three days until Hosler's return by working on their days off. But according to Jennings, "Mr. Holliday said that I was the one they wanted to stay." On May 29, however, Holliday offered to let Jennings go at the end of the week's work on Saturday, June 2. But this would have been too late for him to motor to St. Paul in time for the convention. To Holliday's suggestion that he might fly, Jennings asked, "Who is going to pay for it?" Finally Jennings asked for his vacation money which Holliday refused him when he insisted on leaving May 30. The publisher said, "The only way you can have this check is to resign." Jennings resigned, took the vacation money and left for St. Paul.

The circumstance of Jennings' resignation was a serious blow to the Guild unit at the Call-Bulletin. Attendance at meetings fell from 44 to 4. Newsmen were not hardened against intimidation. The management fostered the impression that "to join the Guild would be to sign your job away."

The Guild now had its back to the wall. It started the Jennings case down the long road to the National Labor Relations Board. Its significance attracted the close attention of newspapermen and publishers throughout the country. Due to dissatisfaction with the old National Labor Board, on June 29, 1934, in accordance with a joint resolution of Congress, the President created a new board composed

of three professional, non-partisan members. The board was also extended more power.

In December of 1934 the new board[1] handed down a decision ordering the Call-Bulletin to reinstate Jennings. The board found that he had been forced to resign because of his Guild activities. Section 7a had been violated. A jurisdictional point had been raised over whether the case should be decided by the National Labor Relations Board or the Newspaper Industrial Board, the latter having been set up under the newspaper code to adjudge disputes within the industry. The Labor Board argued that ordinarily it referred 7a complaints to the NIB,but that in this case it thought it should decide the case "without the inevitable delay that would be involved in referring it to another agency for adjudication."

Guild leaders hailed the victory,but the publishers objected to the Board's arguments on the point of jurisdiction. They claimed that the NIB was the proper body to adjudge the case. They talked of withdrawing from the code. The National Recovery Administration asked the NLRB to reopen the case. It did so. But after hearing further arguments on the jurisdictional question it reaffirmed its findings. The publishers still pressed the issue. The

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1. This Board was in turn superseded the following year by the present NLRB.

newspaper code committee called a meeting of the publishers for January 28, 1935, to allow them to withdraw from the code in a body. Organized labor resented the publishers' attitude. On January 18 a group of labor officials, Government advisors on labor, and the labor members of the Newspaper Industrial Board urged the immediate enforcement of the NLRB's order, and for good measure denounced the newspaper board as an ineffective instrument for the protection of the rights of labor.

The publishers, however, won a temporary victory when the President advised the Labor Board to reject jurisdiction "whenever there existed a code-established industrial board competent to act." A conference was held on January 28-29 between officials of the NRA and the members of the Newspaper Industrial Board to discuss possible action by the NIB on the case. The Guild however mistrusted the newspaper board and Jonathan Eddy, secretary of the ANG, blocked the action by stating that "any hearing would be over his violent objections."[1]

The Call-Bulletin never reinstated Jennings. Another local Guildsman had become caught in the ponderous machinery that was set up to insure the basic purposes of labor's magna charta. And once again the Guild saw the necessity of internal strength.

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1. NIB Case Dockets, Case No. 39, loc. cit.

Meanwhile on the home front the San Francisco-Oakland Guild was engaged in a more forthright battle. Jennings and Howard Hill, the latter an employe for fourteen years on the Oakland Post-Enquirer, were attempting to organize the newspapermen of the Oakland Tribune. The organizers realized the magnitude of their task. The publisher, a power in state politics, believed strongly in the open shop and employer paternalism.

Nevertheless the organizers, who also included W. H. Grattan and Pearce Davies, were able to enlist 22 members out of a possible 50. A Tribune unit was formed in October 1934. The Guild made no demands on the publisher. His early attitude was reported friendly. But on November 10, unit chairman Estolv Ward, rewrite man for ten years, was dismissed with two weeks' pay. The stated reason -"economy." This, however, was not affirmed in writing.

The following Saturday, Donald D. Scofield, secretary-treasurer of the unit, head copy desk and news editor, for seven years a Tribune employe, was dismissed with two weeks' pay. The dismissal was accompanied by a written notice charging him with "inefficiency." Next came the dismissal of Guild member William Wallace Vaughan, for nine years librarian on the paper.

A general meeting of the Guild was held on Sunday November 18 to discuss the cases of the three men. An aggressive defense was pledged which included the use of all

available legal aid and a request to the ANG for national support. Legal aid by itself had not served the Guild very effectively to date, and the famous Newark walkout which was called on the same day diverted the national support. The local Guild was facing a lone battle.

A strategy committee and a publishers' relations committee were appointed by President Arthur Caylor. The strategy group was headed by Dean Jennings who, with Betty Ballantine and Sam Freedman visited publisher Knowland. They hoped to adjust the matter peaceably and gain recognition of the Guild's right to organize.

The publisher refused to recognize the committee as such, but chatted with them in his office for an hour. He appeared to have effected a slightly ruffled pride at not having been consulted by the staff about Guild organization. He also denied that the three men were fired for Guild activity. The committee believed they sensed instead hostility toward the Guild, although Knowland reiterated a desire to discuss the Guild with any members of his staff. This the Tribune Guildsmen preferred not to do. Good union principles decree that any task that might involve reprisals should be performed by union officers.

Upon the approval of Guild attorney Henry Robinson, a registered letter was then sent to publisher Knowland setting forth the facts of the Guild's position. It called attention to section 7a, and placed a time limit on a reply.

The Guild further indicated its position by stating that, "You have chosen to put your employes and us to the necessity of taking other means in defense of their rights." No reply was received.

The Guild accepted the challenge. A boycott campaign was inaugurated which lasted through the latter part of November and early December. It took the form of publicity releases to national, state, and local publications. It met with moderate success. Small neighborhood papers and progressive sheets published the releases. National magazines such as Time, the New Republic, the Nation, and various labor journals carried the story. The free metropolitan press ignored it.

For three days a placarded sound-truck operated in Alameda and San Leandro, but was barred from entering Oakland. In this the Guildsmen saw the long arm of publisher Knowland, Speakers visited various east bay clubs, religious, educational, civic, fraternal, and labor organizations, presenting the Guild's case. At a cost of $100 it got out 50,000 handbills and dodgers which were carefully distributed in Oakland and Berkeley. Organized labor could appreciate this kind of fight. Barriers broke down between the "white-collar" workers and the craftsmen. The Alameda County (Oakland) Labor Council entered the fight. State Federation of Labor Secretary Edward Vandeleur requested O. A. Rowan, president of the Carmen's Union, Division 192, to assist in the Guild's campaign.

A resolution was introduced by Rowan calling for a boycott of the Tribune by all AFL unionists. This caused the puzzled publisher to ask William Spooner, secretary of the Alameda Central Labor Council, how labor could boycott him when he had contracts with the mechanical unions. The labor council went on record endorsing both the Guild's organization and its efforts to uphold section 7a. Labor's solidarity was as heartening to the Guild as it was perplexing to publisher Knowland. But they found lack of cooperation elsewhere.

Radio stations KTAB, KROW, KFRC, KGW, KPO, and KGO were contacted by Jennings. The following letter was dispatched, dated November 24, 1934:

> As representative of the ANG I would like to ask for the price of a 15 minute broadcast on your station either day or night.
>
> Am also anxious to reserve time, if possible on your station for a program sponsored by the Newspaper Guild of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District.
>
> The program would consist of a talk explaining the Guild side of a controversy now existing between the Oakland Tribune and the Guild over the firing of three Tribune editorial employes all of whom were Guild members.
>
> We plan to ask listeners who subscribe to the Tribune to cancel their subscriptions as a protest against a plain violation of NIRA Section 7a. All our appeals and efforts to deal with the publishers of the Tribune have been futile, the news and advertising columns are closed to us and the radio is our only means of explaining the situation to the general public.[1]

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1. From correspondence files of the SF-ONG.

Stations KPO and KGO ignored the letter. The others refused the Guild any time. The manager of station KJBS agreed to provide 15 minutes gratis for the Guild, providing the Tribune publisher was given an opportunity to reply, or that his unwillingness to reply be made plain over the air. But this offer was withdrawn by the station for undivulged reasons.

The Guild sensed an underlying fear of reprisals in the refusal of the radio managers to give it time on the air. One manager allegedly reported to Guildsmen that he had "learned from a reliable source that our programs would be removed from the Tribune if we broadcast a Guild speech." The Federal Communications Commission could not help the Guild, because of its position that it had no authority to regulate in advance the type of program to be broadcasted.

The handbill campaign was dropped for lack of funds. Guild sentiment among the Tribune staff palled. Dues were not paid. One-half of the original 22 members had definitely signified their intention of leaving the Guild at the time the dismissals began. The complaints of Ward, Scofield and Vaughan were filed with the NLRB. The American Newspaper Guild was desperately involved in the Newark strike, which held the national publicity spotlight. Local labor sympathy ran strongly to the picketers in the East. The Tribune campaign floundered. However, circulation slashes (estimated at 3500-4800) finally drew fire in the form of a large two-column

box editorial on December 12, 1934, attacking the Guild. It was run twice more on alternate days and read:

> A circular has been distributed in certain sections of Alameda County attacking The Tribune. It is signed by "The San Francisco Bay Metropolitan Newspaper Guild"and carries a San Francisco address but bears the signature of no individual.
>
> The Tribune last month discontinued the services of three employees in the editorial department in order to increase efficiency and strengthen weak spots in the Tribune staff. Several changes were made in other departments. Membership in the newspaper guild had nothing to do with the changes. Such adjustments are being constantly made by newspapers and other business concerns. In promotions recently made in the editorial department no question was raised as to membership in any organization. Efficiency was the only consideration.
>
> The Tribune Guild,if one exists, has not registered any complaint, or in any way communicated with the management of the Tribune. This paper has always been willing to meet any committee representing its employees. The criticism has come entirely from the San Francisco group, one of the leaders being a discharged employee of a San Francisco newspaper. This newspaper pays salaries equal, if not higher, than paid in the San Francisco Bay region.Working conditions have not been criticized. The Tribune has dealt fairly with employees of every department, all issues between employer and employee having been amicably adjusted by conciliation.
>
> The Tribune having worked harmoniously with its employees over a long period of years will not deviate from this policy regardless of scurrilous and untruthful circulars issued and distributed by outside groups in no way connected with this newspaper.

The issue brought to a head the Guild's troubles. The efforts of President Arthur Caylor and News chairman Ben

Horne to halt the campaign were voted down. Horne resigned from the unit chairmanship and a number of News members left the Guild in protest over the adoption of trade-union tactics. Caylor resigned to make way for the militants. His letter of resignation stated his belief that the Guild could not benefit from a situation wherein the president and executive council "are so much at outs on policy." This internal unrest proved damaging to the campaign against the Tribune. Correspondence with the publisher dragged on through April, when the case was tacitly abandoned.

Attempts to organize publisher Knowland's paper to date have been fruitless, although sporadic attempts were made in 1937 and again early in 1939. The Tribune matched nearly all concessions made by the other dailies to Guild demands in the matter of salaries and working hours. The Guild waits to see how the question of job security will be resolved when and if business conditions dictate payroll curtailments on bay area newspapers. Whether or not the Tribune will match the benefits of severance pay obtained under Guild contracts remains a moot question.

Despite a number of defeats and internal dissentions the local Guild gained in strength, and publishers' attacks became less forthright.

The next case was that of Redfern Mason, music critic for twenty-one years on the Examiner. He devoted virtually his entire spare time to the young Guild and to the

general labor movement. The Examiner did not discharge Mason but removed him from his department and kept him in idleness for several weeks. Then he was offered the hotel beat. Feeling that this would involve a loss of prestige and be regarded by the public as a form of humiliation, Mason resigned. Many letters poured into the Examiner offices from recognized leaders in San Francisco's cultural life, protesting his removal. Labor, now accepting the "white collar" organization, also protested. The Guild elected him its president (1935). In September a local labor group sponsored the United Labor Party and asked him to run for mayor. This he did. The new party was supported by 44 labor organizations and presented a 22-point platform including the six-hour day, repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, freedom for Tom Mooney, public ownership of utilities, and other liberal issues. But it lacked the support of labor's conservative wing. The Guild thought it prudent to eschew political activities at this time and refused it official support. The young organization feared the "red" stigma that had been attached to the party by its opponents.

But in the month of June 1935 the NRA collapsed and the Guild found itself looking more and more toward organized labor for support. The issue was soon to be resolved.

CHAPTER IV

THE GUILD AND THE UNITED PRESS

Burgess, Jennings, Ward, Scofield, Vaughan, Mason--all were casualties of the early Guild struggles. In the old days such wholesale dismissals would have been enough to smash any newsmen's organization. Two such organizations in San Francisco had previously lasted less than a year. The Guild had operated almost four years before it achieved what could be called a definite victory; and this came with its dealings with the United Press. To the Guild it was an accolade of reward and recognition.

The basis for a Guild unit on the United Press had long been recognized. The wire service was known to newsmen as the "coolie" division of the industry. But such was the feeling of Guildsmen in regard to the United Press' attitude towards the Guild that no unit had been organized there until December of 1936. And then organization was carried on so furtively that it was scarcely whispered at executive council meetings. Thirteen out of sixteen local employes were eligible for membership. The unit was formed under the leadership

of Don King.

F. H. Bartholomew directed all western activities of the United Press from his office in the News building. In the event of negotiations, it was his duty to bargain for UP with the locals. The Guild felt that Bartholomew's attitude would not be "friendly." The management gave the impression that a Guild membership card would jeopardize an employe's career with the UP. The local manager was given to holding long, fatherly conversations with his office men, the purpose apparently being to "jolly" employes out of the idea of belonging to the ANG.

On April 13, 1937, a UP committee composed of the chairman, James Wickizer, Francis McCarthy, and Teg Grondahl reported to the Guild that Bartholomew had called in several of his staff members in an attempt to discourage them from joining the Guild. There was, however, no outright threat. But the committee feared that dismissals or other reprisals might be contemplated. So it was decided to notify the division manager that the Guild unit existed in order to prevent "unconsidered" action and to establish recognition for the Guild.

At about this time Bartholomew decided to make a number of transfers. Active Guildsmen were advised they were to be given transfers to out-of-way points. The Guild saw in Bartholomew's actions only another attempt to break up the Guild. It complained vigorously to him, and eventually filed

charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

The local situation was reported to Guild Organizer Morgan Hull, who was then in Los Angeles. Hull in turn telephoned Scripps, who called Bartholomew to find out what was occurring.

Following this Bartholomew called his staff members, one by one, into his office, and it was feared that all Guild members were to be transferred to other bureaus. It was during this time that publisher Robert Scripps, in Los Angeles, telephoned Bartholomew, evidently to find out if there had been any intimidation of Guild members. Wickizer was called to the phone to deny any such intimidation. What he told the publisher soon became a subject of controversy. Morgan Hull felt strongly that Wickizer had not told the Guild the facts of his conversation with Scripps, and the Guild prepared to investigate Wickizer and his statement, when Wickizer resigned from the Union. Following a nervous breakdown which occurred shortly after his resignation, he was transferred to Los Angeles.

Events followed one another swiftly in the next few weeks. A conference of Guild representatives with Bartholomew resulted in his telling them that UP transfers were common enough in the service. The Guildsmen understood that, but said that if wholesale transfers were made pending negotiation, the Guild would consider them discriminatory.

The objective situation was weighted in the Guild's favor. Organized labor was now ready and willing to support the Guild in the event of trouble with the United Press, and the American Newspaper Guild was well enough established nationally to assure the local substantial support. During the interviews the Guild was fortunate in having Don Wiley of the News, formerly with the United Press and other wire services in the Far East, as spokesman. Wiley, an older newspaperman, was acquainted with Bartholomew and the rest of the committee. He urged the bureau head to use his influence in New York to have negotiations begun on a national scale between the UP and the ANG.

Francis McCarthy, an experienced employe and former cable editor, was told he would be transferred to Tacoma -- "or else." He was given several days to think it over. The Guild accepted the proposed transfer as an issue, and Guild President Dave Young urged all trade-unions in the bay area to adopt resolutions protesting the anti-union tactics of the UP. Guildsman Howard Hill, traveling in Arizona, was requested to contact all UP clients and acquaint them with the local management's attitude toward the Guild. The San Francisco Labor Council denounced the United Press in a press release. The case was given to the Regional Labor Board.

Four-hundred letters were sent from Guild headquarters to trade-unions explaining the pending McCarthy transfer and requesting the locals to send protests to Bartholomew, Hugh

Baillie, and the local UP-serviced Chronicle and News, against what it felt to be the UP's anti-union tactics. The unions were told that their protests would delay and possibly prevent the McCarthy transfer. The letter also expressed the hope that they would definitely quash intimidation and aid the negotiation of a fair settlement.

The three-day campaign had the immediate effect of blocking the transfer, and the Guild withdrew its charges with the NLRB. The local UP management which had refused to recognize the Guild now officially conceded the Guild standard of wages and hours could probably be attained "without bringing in a committee." Intimidations ceased for some months as national negotiations proceeded ponderously in New York. The IEB of the ANG considered and rejected a strike vote as the negotiations bogged down. It noted a series of transfers of active Guildsmen all over the country.

At the turn of the year 1938 the Guild considered filing new charges with the Regional Labor Board, but before action was taken the national negotiations were completed. The formula for settling local grievances was to consist of conferences of the local Guild and the local management, with UP unit members sitting in as observers. If no adjustment action was agreed to, the Guild might refer the case to the ANG, which would then bring it before the national UP management in New York.

The successful completion of this un-spectacular campaign revealed, more than could flying banners and picket lines, the internal strength of the Guild. Dragging along as it did for months, and harassed by petty irritations which gave the members no rallying cry around which to galvanize action, the campaign was a revelation to those who contended that newspapermen could never attain solidarity.

CHAPTER V

PROFESSION OR TRADE

As long as the Guild appeared to be just another newsmen's professional club, the publishers regarded it with apathetic approbation. As it evolved along trade-union lines, however, their attitude changed into open hostility. This was first felt shortly before the ANG convention of 1934. The American Newspaper Publishers' Association advised its members not to enter into any contracts with the Guild. William Randolph Hearst said:

> Frankly, I do not believe in a newspaper guild. Maybe I am old-fashioned. I have always regarded our business a profession and not a trade union.

Roy W. Howard was equally opposed:

> In my opinion, journalism is a profession. It will no more flourish and develop in the strait jacket of trade unionism than an orchid on an iceberg.[2]

But the employes began thinking otherwize. As early as August 20,1933, the Editorial Employees' Association

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1. Editor and Publisher, June 2, 1934, p. 8.

2. Guild Reporter, June 1934.

of Cleveland went on record with a trade-union outlook which was set forth in a mimeographed leaflet:

> Squeezed between the pressures of advertisers and stockholders, between exorbitant tolls of syndicates and press services, and the unionized requirements of the mechanical trades, newspaper editorial employes have from the industry's infancy been the most notoriously exploited of all producer groups in this country which require similar standards of intelligence, skill and industry. They have submitted to this not only uncomplainingly but in fact quite happily, clinging to an old local room tradition which probably never had any basis of fact whatever. It is now time that local room staffs start living and working for something more than the by-line and pat-on-the-back. NRA holds out to them their first bona fide opportunity to go after realities.[1]

The trade journal, Editor and Publisher, viewed the issue with alarm, and tried to change the wind with an editorial, written a few months preceding the 1934 convention. On March 3, 1934, it stated:

> ...the closed news shop would not only cripple editorial control and degrade writers, artists and editors through the processes of time clock regimentation, but inevitably would defeat the right of the public to enjoy the interests of free, non-partisan disinterested news reporting. It is a simple minded notion that reporters and editors, sufficiently imbued with class conscious spirit to join a union and affiliate with other unions would continue to treat news from the viewpoint of impartial observers. They sacrifice neutrality and admit partisanship by their very act. Ample evidence exists today that the radical unionists in control of American Newspaper Guild are convinced they are justified in using their power to gain class conscious objectives. Their passion runs

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1. Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America, New York, 1937, pp. 678-679.

> to a political cause,rather than to professional interest. One has only to read the files of the Guild Reporter, the Broun official organ, to be convinced that these Guildsmen have no intention to remain neutral. They seek the prerogatives of the editor without corresponding responsibility to prosecute the class-war in which they are enlisted. This, of course, would outrage the whole principle of free press. The right of the public to impartial news reporting is long established and no matter how it may have been abused by certain faking reporters in the past, it remains the keystone of the democratic state....publishers will not accept the editorial closed shop come what may....

The issue was not to be resolved immediately. Many of the Guildsmen were uncertain as to what membership requirements should be. The question was debated in local Guild meetings throughout the country for a number of years. Locally it developed into the "inclusionist-exclusionist" issue. When the campaign against the Oakland Tribune veered into trade-union tactics, internal dissention staggered the Guild.. President Arthur Caylor,an "exclusionist," resigned because he felt that the Guild could not benefit from a situation wherein the president and the executive council "are so much at outs on policy." Feeling ran rather high as indicated by Dean Jennings' comment on the resignation:

> ...I say...that this Guild is rapidly headed toward AFL affiliation. There are many white-collared balloons in this bay region Guild who are too proud to be considered in the same class with their grimmer fellows of the composing room. Let them continue to think so. They may even follow this line of thought when after ten years of loyal service they suddenly find themselves on the curbstone picking up crumbs, spiking butts....[1]

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1. From Correspondence Files, SF-ONG

The active support of local labor in a number of the Guild's battles increased the organization's respect for union labor and its methods of accomplishing its ends. This was true to a certain extent throughout the country. At the national convention in 1935 enabling machinery was set up for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. A national poll taken in the fall of that year, however, showed the Guild not quite ready for such a move. But the issue was kept warm, with President Broun plumping for affiliation. The publishers increased their opposition. Heywood Broun had, after a conversation with an unnamed publisher, stated for them the line of attack they would adopt against the Guild:

> An organization of newspaper reporters, whether affiliated with the AFL or not, would tend to destroy the freedom of the press, since newsgatherers would tend to see events from labor's point of view.[1]

Broun talked to this point by pointing out the inability of the average reporter to give adequate "coverage" to strikes, lockouts, and other capital-labor disputes because of unfamiliarity with a dynamic movement. He wrote:

> The Newspaper Guild is changing us from labor illiterates into reporters and commentators who are learning from our own experience the vital factors of the conflict. One must meet the truth face to face before one is able to talk about it. We are moving in that direction.[2]

Jonathon Eddy early saw a necessity for this trend.

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1. Nation, March 6, 1935.

2. Ibid.

Writing of the newspaper editorial department workers in the Guild Reporter he said:

> (Their)...interests as a group of employees are fundamentally the same as the interests of other employee groups everywhere. We recognize, as possibly other federations of newspaper workers have failed to, that the idea of an honest and untrammeled press transcends even our own material interests. And because of this we shall fight the more vehemently against the hypocrisy that maintains that freedom to exploit labor is the cornerstone of a free press ....We are a great organization, the largest of its kind in the world. We are going ahead, we are learning--and we have far to go and much more yet to learn.

Local chapters discussed the issue pro and con during the spring and summer of 1935. Don Stevens of the SF-ONG favored affiliation, stressing the newspaper worker's community of interest with those who work for wages. He saw no conflict between economic security and the freedom of the press.

Pearce Davies was against affiliation. He believed the AFL to be a "closely knit group of unions,not necessarily pledged to help each other and much help could not be expected while dues would definitely be raised." Davies believed in a program of cooperation with both labor and the publishers by what he termed "peaceful persuasion."

Don Wiley of the News favored affiliation. He said: "The publishers already consider the Guild a labor union, so why not be one? Peaceful persuasion has already failed while the strike and boycott methods we have already tried have succeeded. Improving the standards of newspapers might be the

problem of the publisher."

Leonard Milliman of the Associated Press distrusted the AFL. He stated: "A new federation of labor may be coming up with rank-and-file leadership that won't sell out its members." He was evidently listening to the portentious rumblings of John L. Lewis.[1]

The Pacific Reporter of May 10, 1935, clarified the issue by listing the arguments on both sides.For affiliation:

> Labor has already demonstrated its friendship for the Guild and the East Bay. Affiliation will strengthen that friendship. It will not commit the Guild to strike at any time or for any cause except when the entire membership so wills it. The aims of the Guild in a large part are those of organized labor and like organized labor, the Guild wishes to improve and protect the economic status of its membership through collective bargaining.
>
> The theory that labor affiliation would bring wages in high brackets down to a minimum level, or level intelligence to the lowest common denominator is fallacious. Printers showing extra skill are now paid higher than the union minimum.
>
> Intelligent leaders can bring the Guild up to their intellectual standard, not lower it to that of the rawest cub reporter.
>
> There is real danger that unless it affiliates with labor, the Guild will not survive another year in the face of growing publisher enmity.

Against affiliation:

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1. The CIO was officially set up in November 1935. Its first constitutional Convention was held in Pittsburg,November 1938, when the name was changed to Congress of Industrial Organizations.

> There was no proof that affiliation would win us any more support from labor than we now receive. It might very well tend to embroil us in any forthcoming general strike on the Pacific Coast to the definite disadvantage of the Guild.
>
> Affiliation would alienate present and prospective members who are vigorously opposed to the purposes and practices of the AFL.
>
> By affiliation we would accept a leadership we have repeatedly derided as a bunch of labor politicians firmly entrenched in an almost self-perpetuating oligarchy with the egoistical hope that our youthful and relatively small group could oust them from control.

With the collapse of the NRA in June 1935 one of the strongest supports was knocked from beneath the Guild. The issue of AFL affiliation became imperative. Four Guildsmen were dismissed from the Post-Enquirer in Oakland and two from the San Francisco News. In the East, the New York Journal dismissed twenty and the Philadelphia Ledger, thirteen. There was a threatened return to the six-day week, starvation wages, more dismissals, and all the ills of pre-NRA days. Sentiment changed slowly in favor of affiliation and when the local balloted on the issued in the fall of 1935 the vote went 77 in favor to 37 against.

The national referendum, however, fell short by 35 votes of the necessary two-thirds majority. Of those voting, 1841 were in favor of affiliation, 975 were not. Approximately 1000 eligible members refrained from voting.

President Heywood Broun accepted the verdict, but took cognizance of the trend. He said:

> Guild members appointed to tabulate the votes are in unanimous agreement that the necessary two-thirds vote has been lost. There were a few technical problems but they would have had no effect upon the issue. My own interpretation of the vote is that obviously the Guild cannot make application for AFL membership until the question has been brought up at another convention....on the other hand I must stress the fact...that a large majority of the Guild has given a clear mandate for the conception of the Guild as a trade union organization and a part of the labor movement. Any prediction as to what will happen one year from now is,of course, guesswork. My own intention is to respect the will of the majority and do all I can to bring about a favorable vote for affiliation at the next convention or in any form of referendum which it may decide to set up.[1]

The following year the ANG increased its membership by almost 2,000. It extended its jurisdiction into Canada and became an international union. Its outlook became more trade-unionist. By the time the 1936 convention was called it was ready for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Many delegates came instructed. A major Guild strike had been running for fifteen weeks in Milwaukee. The vote for affiliation was 83 to 5. A minority report, read by Julius Klyman of St. Louis did not oppose affiliation with labor, but merely with the AFL. The report stated:

> The AFL was a crumbling institution which in its present setup may not survive another six months and it would be ridiculous for this organization to move into a house which might collapse before the moving is completed.[2]

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1. Guild Reporter, November 1, 1935.

2. ANG Convention minutes, 1936.

He based his opinion on the split between William Green and John L. Lewis, just then approaching a climax. Klyman charged the craft-unions with a lack of solidarity, and pointed out that one craft did not always support another in time of strike.

Edward Sevinson of the New York Post also spoke for industrial unionism. He told the convention:

> The best and lasting interests of the members of the ANG, composed of newspapermen who work for a living, is bound up with the welfare of all workers in the nation.
>
> Modern industry makes necessary the organization of labor in strong, aggressive labor unions and their federation for purposes of mutual aid and the handling of problems that cross the boundaries of more than one craft of workers.

William Green welcomed these new unionists whom Marlin Pew, of Editor and Publisher, said Heywood Broun had personally kidnapped and placed on the doorstep of organized labor. Broun's reply to Pew was that if decorations were to go to individuals who made reporters conscious of their part in the labor movement, all such decorations should go to publishers. Shortly they were to wear out Mr. Green's welcome.

Membership in the American Federation of Labor brought in new members and a paid-up membership of 272 in San Francisco. But it also brought the resignation of Pearce Davies from the local Executive Council. His reasons as stated in a letter to the Guild were:

> I took office at a time when the Guild outlook in these parts was none too promising. It has

> been difficult for me to find the time necessary for even the small duties of this office and now that the NCNG is definitely on its feet, I feel this is a good time to withdraw.
>
> As you all well know, I am not in sympathy with trade unionizing of what started out to be a free and independent association of newspaper workers. In this, on the council, I am a minority of one--merely an obstruction to what my fellow councilmen believe to be progress.

Shortly after the admittance of the ANG into the AFL, the differences between William Green and John L. Lewis appeared basic. Immediately after the close of the 1936 convention the Washington, D.C., Guild chapter asked for a national referendum on affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization. Heywood Broun, as an individual, joined the newer group. In an article appearing in the Nation he wrote:

> Labor must find leaders energetic enough to break through the ring. In constrast to the stagnation of Green's troops is the magnificent progress of the CIO.
>
> There has been a great deal of discussion as to the real issue between the AFL and the CIO. William Green said repeatedly industrial unionism is not the issue....he may be right but it boils down to this--in fighting for its rights is labor going to use its head or have it broken?

The rift between the CIO and the AFL sifted into the Guild. President Green wrote to Jonathan Eddy asking for the Guild's position on the issue. The International Executive Board of the ANG took a position in support of the industrial unionization idea of the CIO, and in May it voted not to send delegates to the AFL national convention in

Cincinnati. Within its own organization the Board favored taking in the business staffs of the newspaper industry.

A newspaper advertising Guild had been formed in San Francisco in the spring of 1937 with the idea of establishing collestive bargaining for the business staffs.[1]

The Columbus (Ohio) Guild had requested a referendum on affiliation with the CIO but the IEB believed that a referendum on the question was not feasible at that time as it would tend to widen the breach between the CIO and the AFL which might possibly be healed.

The issue, however, was determined at the 1937 convention, held in St. Louis. The membership had doubled in the past year and now was 11,115. The delegates voted 118½ to 18½ for affiliation with the CIO. The convention passed a number of resolutions which Henry F. Pringle in Scribners of January 1939 recalled as a "virtual mania."

These included the release of Tom Mooney, support of President Roosevelt's plan to enlarge the Supreme Court, an appropriation of three billion dollars for the WPA, and support of the Farm Security Administration's program for marginal farmers. The WPA resolution demanded that union wages, hours, and working conditions prevail on WPA projects.

A resolution which caused much comment throughout the nation was one advocating support for the Spanish Republican government, and against General Franco. It asked

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1. See chapter on negotiations.

extension of U.S. support and encouragement to the Spanish Republican government.

A referendum on all convention action showed the ANG national membership favored the endorsement of all the resolutions except the one on Spain. It was defeated by the close margin of 2,409 to 2,592.

Don King, a local delegate reported on the 1937 convention:

> Enthusiasm for all the work and resolutions was so strong, particularly in favor of the CIO, that even if you had gone opposed to it, you would have been swept up in the flood and felt it to be a good thing. All those San Franciscans opposed to it should have been there and they could have seen we delegates could do no other thing but to vote for all the measures, including the CIO.[1]

The San Francisco Guild upheld all of the work of the convention in the national referendum. The resolution against Spanish Facism was defeated elsewhere.

Editor and Publisher, dismally looking at Guild-CIO affiliation, stated editorially:

> Through the Newspaper Guild there is no question that the CIO as a political organization, is using the established technique of "boring" from within the newspaper offices of America. How far this penetrating can go depends upon the office and personnel of the staff...

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1. SF-ONG minutes 1937.

> If the Guild leaders can whoop their followers into a shock battalion for Mr. Lewis, it requires no gift of prophesy that a lot of Guildsmen will shortly be looking for WPA assignments. No law or court decision can compel editors to employ and pay salary to propagandists....[1]

Following the close of the convention, the magazine projected further its negative prognosis for the Guild, and on June 12, 1937, it declared:

> Borne down by the weight of its radical New York leadership, the ANG sinks deeper and deeper into the AFL-CIO bog.
>
> Pressured into joining the AFL only one year ago by eloquent pleas, that this move was the salvation of organized writing men, the leadership this year has another idea, whoops it up for the CIO and not only pops the organization into John Lewis' ranks but with vast generosity summons clerks, office workers, drivers, telephone girls and all other unorganized newspaper workers into the fold....
>
> Talk until they are blue in the face, Guild leaders cannot convince intelligent reporters that their future lies in the hands of a local office soviet. Nor can they convince an increasing number of writing men, that except in a few cases, what hour and wage improvements have been made could not have been made by a professional group unencumbered with labor affiliation. The outlook seems to be better for a strictly professional organization....[2]

But the CIO-affiliation controversy did not disrupt the Guild. It was accepted favorably by the local chapter. Guildsmen began organizing the business and other non-unionized departments. On the Examiner such men as Walter Germond

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1. Editor and Publisher, May 29, 1937.

2. Ibid. June 12, 1937.

and William Beaton led the movement. They encountered a delicate situation when an AFL-fostered union was formed in the classified advertising office of that paper. The management gave it a two-year contract evidentially judging it a more tractable union. Germond was elected treasurer of the SF-ONG for 1938, and utilized his business office background to reorganize the local's bookkeeping system. Beaton was elected a delegate from the business side to attend the 1938 convention.

In the fall of 1937 the publishers met in Chicago to formulate a "Freedom of the Press" campaign against the Guild. As a counter measure, the IEB assigned ten additional organizers, paid from CIO coffers. A broad membership drive was highly successful, and was credited by the ANG as a principal factor in forestalling the publishers' campaign.

The convention of the following year (1938) held at Toronto indicated no veering from the Guild's labor-union outlook. It condemned by resolution international Facism including the boycott of goods made in Japan, the anti-unionism of industrialists Henry Ford and Tom Girdler, and urged trade-union action in defense of democracy and labor's civil rights.

And in 1939 SF-ONG entertained the national delegates and greeted the convention with the first city-wide Guild shop contract. The Guild was a labor union.

CHAPTER VI

LABOR FRATERNITY AND THE GUILD

"One for all and all for One" was a trade-union axiom SF-ONG early recognized and accepted. The young Guild had felt the force of anti-unionism, sensed the necessity, and earned the prerogatives of cooperation. The charter members realized this as they talked "union" at the corner bars, coffee shops, and cafes. As these meetings broadened out into gatherings at the homes of members and finally at their own offices in the Sharon building, fraternity deepened. Dean Jennings, awaiting the NLRB's decision in his case, kept the latchstring out at the Guild office. Here the members and all others interested met to discuss their common problems. As union labor supported them in their struggles,they expanded their discussion and action to the wider problems of labor. The conditions of agricultural workers in the dust bowl, lumberjacks in the north,Government workers in Washington,dressmakers in New York, stevedores on the Gulf, oil workers in Mexico all became the concern of the Guildsmen-- they were all family matters--and the Guildsmen participated in this

"shop-talk" with knowledge and feeling. They were part of the family.

During the famous three-month hotel strike of 1937, Guildsmen contributed funds, wrote publicity and made a definite contribution to the success of the strikers. They in turn released news only through channels staffed by Guildsmen.

Similar support was given to the department store strikers in their two-month strike of 1938. The strike involved every major merchant in the city and some 6000 employes, in addition to the clerks of the warehousemen's union who were currently locked out. It terminated in success for the employes, and was an outstanding instance of rank-and-file labor solidarity, involving as it did unionists of both the AFL and CIO. The Guild aided the strikers by helping them issue their daily strike bulletin.

Between 1936 and 1939 the Guild sponsored many resolutions and contributed funds to strikers, not only in San Francisco but all over the country. In November of 1937 it gave moral support and funds to the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America in their fight against the company-union tactics of the powerful Pacific Gas & Electric Corporation. In August of that same year Guildsmen petitioned California senators and congressmen in Washington to vote for the passage of the Wagner Act. The Guild aided the striking

mushroom workers in 1937. It wrote to California's governor, Frank Merriam, on July 10,1937, for a full and unconditional pardon for Tom Mooney. It also telegraphed United States Senator Hiram Johnson for his support in obtaining Mooney's pardon. It ostracised a former Milwaukee strikebreaker, hired by the Examiner, resulting in his resignation.

In November 1937 the Guild wrote to the California State Board of Education on behalf of Victor Jewett, a Eureka school teacher who was fired following the 1935 lumber strike for supporting the workers.

In December 1937, following the Japanese invasion of China, the Guild joined in the movement of the United Committee for a boycott of Japanese goods. In October 1937 it gave its support to the strike of the United Office and Professional Workers against Safeway stores and Western States groceries. It protested the breaking off of the bargaining relationship of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with their employes, in January 1938. Unless the company would consent to bargain collectively, the Guild refused to deal with it in matters of insurance. The Guild gave its support to the efforts of the American Radio Telegraphists'Association to organize telegraph workers employed by the Western Union.

Requests for contributions to beleaguered unions became so frequent during those turbulent days that the Guild was forced to limit checks to $5.00, unless greater amounts

were vitally necessary. In March of 1938 it explored the possibilities of the secondary boycott by bringing pressure to bear on the local stores of Montgomery Ward whose eastern chains persisted in advertising in the Bayonne Times, struck by the Guild. In February 1937 the Guild's cooperation was invited by the Alameda County Workers Alliance in a national conference on unemployment and relief. In December of the same year Guildsmen sent telegrams to Guild members on a Baltimore Hearst paper who were demoralized by a series of dismissals which had wiped out Guild leadership.

The Guild timidly entered the political field. In 1935 while engaged in trouble with the Oakland Tribune it sent a strong letter to the Berkeley city council wherein it stated that it would fight for the right of Americans to distribute and read handbills or any publication that did not violate the law of decency. This letter followed the arrest of certain Guildsmen who were distributing handbills in connection with the Tribune controversy.

In May 1935 Assemblyman Ford Chatters of Lindsay sponsored an amendment to the State NRA bill which would have excluded newspaper employes from collective bargaining. Guildsmen appeared before his committee to force opposition to its passage. "The amendment was inserted," the Guild wrote, "on the pretext that newspaper workers were covered by the newspaper code. The code, however, expires in a few weeks, and in the probable event of its non-renewal both writers and

printers, many thousands of them, will be deprived of the rights accorded to other citizens....the measure as it now stands constitutes unjust discrimination against newspapermen."

The bill did not become law.

In November 1936 the executive council adopted a resolution calling upon San Francisco's board of supervisors to allow the city's voters an opportunity to pass upon the "wartime" ordinance of anti-picketing. Efforts of the Guild were greatly responsible for the repeal of the bill which could have been used against public protests of unfair labor practices. Guildsmen worked on committees, contributed money, wrote publicity stories for radio and newspapers on their own time, and were given much credit for the defeat of the ordinance.

In the spring of 1938 it concentrated its efforts to defeat an anti-labor bill on the State ballot known as Proposition Number 1. The initiative was destructive of the rights of free speech, free assemblage, and the free press as understood by the majority of the voters. A Guild committee of 25 voluntarily handled most of the publicity against the proposition. The Guild contributed $500 to the campaign fund, raised through a $1 per capita local assessment, passed overwhelmingly in a referendum vote, and was instrumental in the work of unifying the AFL and the CIO against the bill. With the cooperation of the Los Angeles

Guild and unionists throughout the State, the efforts resulted in a landslide vote against the bill.

The Guild also enjoyed the fraternity of labor in less belligerent functions. The first social gathering of the Guild was at a picnic in Richmond on August 11, 1935.

In the spring of 1936, as a means of raising money for Milwaukee strikers and convention delegates, the Guild held its first Front Page Frolic. It became the Guild's biggest annual money-maker. A local cafeman, Pete Winandy, underwrote the first Frolic, which was held in the Scottish Rite Auditorium. Mr. Winandy got back his $1000 loan, and there was in addition a round sum in the treasury for the Guild. All-union night club talent and orchestras contributed to the success of the affair.

Howard Hill, reporting on the success of the first Frolic, said: "The net profit for the Guild was close to $1000. Without waiting for receipts to come in, we sent a check to the Milwaukee strikers for $250, and the boys were already talking about 'next year.' The Frolic served as a Guild revival, ringing in many new members."

There were 225 members in the seven units functioning at that time (May 1936).

Of educational value was the appearance of other union members at Guild meetings. Harry Bridges addressed one in the fall of 1936 when the longshoremen were under fire from the employers. He has appeared several times since and always is a drawing card.

The following year Guildsman Bert Frazier was hired on a salary basis to handle the Frolic. The Guild again cleared close to $1000 despite the fact that some of the talent was unable to appear. At five o'clock of the day of the Frolic, a city-wide hotel strike made it impossible for the guest orchestras to appear.

The coastwise popularity of SF-ONG's Front page Frolic prompted the Seattle Newspaper Guild to invite Frazier to promote a similar affair for them. He was unable to accept the offer, however, as he had just taken a job on a peninsula paper.

In 1938 the Frolic was even more successful. Phil Stone, who as San Francisco correspondent for several national theater papers knew the entertainment business, offered assistance to the hard-working committees. It cleared the necessary funds for the convention delegates. The Frolic guests were augmented by the warehousemen whose union was also holding its annual dance, and it was arranged for the two unions to take turns looking in on the other's affair. Actor Francis Lederer, his wife Margo, and part of their company, who were appearing locally in a stage play, were also present.

In the spring of 1939, the Frolic committee, again headed by Phil Stone, decided to hold the dance in the city's newly completed Aquatic Park building. All three floors were turned over to the Guild. The guests were entertained by

fan dancer Sally Rand, colored swing singer Maxine Sullivan and several top-flight hotel orchestras. The proceeds went to entertain the national convention which was held in San Francisco.

SF-ONG, proud of the city's reputation as "the city that knows how," outdid itself arranging for the convention's entertainment. The Press Club gave a buffet supper. The Golden Gate International Exposition opened its gates to Guildsmen. The California Commission staged a party for the delegates in the California building on Treasure Island, with Howard Hill and Fred Gary, former Guildsmen, as hosts. Sight-seeing tours and visits to the concessions were jammed in between meetings and general elections. The local Guild Auxiliary, headed by Mrs. Ruth Erickson, arranged a round of entertainment for the wives of the delegates that included sight-seeing tours of the city, luncheon in Chinatown, and a day at the Fair....

In November of 1937, the Guild participated with the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians in inaugurating a series of lectures for professional and white-collar workers, as expressions of a mutual feeling that a "series of lectures dealing with trade-unionism for professionals is timely and essential." From this group they planned to enlist speakers for all types of audiences. At the same time the CIO council was opening classes in trade-unionism to which two Guildsmen were elected to attend.

The Guild also was aware of the educational value of inviting prominent members of other unions to speak at Guild meetings. Longshoremen leader Harry Bridges first appeared in the Fall of 1936 and became a consistent drawing card.

When the Guild was eleven months old it established the Pacific Reporter, the first issue appearing on February 1, 1935. Its intermittent appearance depended largely on the available time of Guildsmen to work on it. The first Reporter was a bulletin, and consisted of two mimeographed sheets. A box notice on either side at the top of the first page declared the paper to be "Dedicated to Real Freedom of the Press," and proclaimed the Guild's aims as being "Higher journalism; Better working conditions; Improved hours and pay." At the bottom of the page was the notice:

> The Newspaper Guild herewith presents the first issue of a weekly bulletin for Guild members and well wishers. It is YOUR bulletin. Contributions will be most welcome. Keep them short and remember the deadline on Wednesday.

A page-2 story announced that the paper had been developed from an idea originating with Tom Soth, an Examiner sports writer who had just died.

> This bulletin will perpetuate his memory and his example, will, perhaps, inspire its writers to develop it into a real paper eventually.

The second issue of the Pacific Reporter came out on February 15, and dolefully carried the news that the Examiner staff had been slashed. Eleven employes, four of

whom were Guildsmen, were dismissed without warning. The paper reported that, "Since then, five new members joined the Guild on the Examiner."

The Pacific Reporter for June and July was mimeographed with brief, newsy items and the Guild treasurer's report. On July 13, 1935, the paper consisted of four pages. Guild headquarters were given as 298 Union Street. Guildsmen were advised to sign up more members.

The September 6, 1935, issue was edited by Betty Ballantine of the News, one of the most hard-working members of the Guild. Issues of the Reporter appeared through October and November, then again on February 12, 1936. The July and August numbers carried cleverly stenciled head cuts by Howard Hill.

Early in 1937, supported and authorized by members of the printing trades, a Guild committee drew up memoranda on the possibility of printing the Reporter, exploiting suggested advertising prospects to cover its cost. Unionized resorts, restaurants, bars, theaters, night clubs, clothing stores carrying union merchandise, woman's stores, banks, typewriter concerns, smoke-shops, used-auto markets, and photographers' supply shops were suggested as advertising revenue possibilities. A subscription price of 50-cents yearly or five cents a copy was considered. The paper was to begin in May as a monthly and develop into a weekly as the advertising subsidy grew. The idea was also supported

by the Advertising Guild which was then being organized on the papers. Vern Partlow, a Milwaukee striker who had come to San Francisco seeking work, was employed on a salary and commission basis to solicit advertising and act as editor.

The first issue of the new Pacific Reporter appeared on May 20, 1937, as Volume IV, No. 6. It was a four-page printed sheet with smart heads and a black headline reading, "New Reporter Bows." There were nine ads, the largest of which were two columns, two-inches each.

A second printed issue came out on July 17. On August 26, when the Reporter appeared again, it was mimeographed. On November 15 it was mimeographed on brilliant salmon-colored paper bought by Howard Hill at a bargain price in a close-out sale. It was cleverly illustrated with Hill's cartoons.

On January 5, 1938, the mimeographed NCNG NEGOTIATOR kept the Guildsmen informed on current contract negotiations with the publishers. The Pacific Reporter for that date was a single sheet. During the spring and summer months, the paper appeared bi-monthly. By November of 1938, it was again being printed. The most impressive issue of the Reporter was run off in July 1939, to greet the delegates to the National Convention held in San Francisco. Its featured story was the newly-signed Guild Shop contract between SF-ONG and the San Francisco-Oakland Publishers Association which reads:

Section 2 (a) It is understood and agreed by the parties hereto that not less than four out of every five persons hired by the Publisher after the effective date of this Agreement and coming under the terms thereof, shall become members of the Guild within ninety (90) days. If any employe who is required to join the Guild under the terms of this section fails to do so within the ninety (90) days specified, he shall be discharged.[1]

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1. Guild Shop clause, as modified and agreed to by publishers in negotiation with SF-ONG, 1939-1940.

CHAPTER VII

THE LOCAL NEGOTIATES

San Francisco's Newspaper Guild was organized in March 1934,[1] but it was not until December of 1936 that the local achieved a contract with publishers. Elsewhere in the nation employer-Guild contracts had been achieved, the first with J. David Stern who during the Guild's first year had signed for his two papers, the Philadelphia Record (April 8, 1934,) and later for the New York Post.

At the time of the 1936 convention seven contracts had been signed. A year later there were 47, including those signed with San Francisco publishers. While there had been recognition of the ANG in all parts of the United States, formal contracts were few. The 47 pacts included 78 newspapers. In many cities publishers who feared Guild growth had raised wages voluntarily, hoping thus to forestall negotiations. The Chicago Times raised its payroll $33,000 in such

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1. Originally named San Francisco Bay Area Metropolitan District Newspaper Guild; changed in April 1935 to Northern California Newspaper Guild, and again in May 1938 to its present name, San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild.

a move. International News Photo raised salaries, while Scripps-Howard papers formally recognized the Guild.

America's First Lady, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, had joined the Guild. She wrote in her nationally syndicated column that she found the Guild principles "sound and right."

"We will have growing pains of course, just as I think there are growing pains in almost everything we see around us," she had written.

Eastern contracts with the publisher,J. David Stern and with Joseph Medill Patterson of the New York Daily News included the Guild Shop, center of the bitterest controversy aroused by the ANG. Roy Howard of Scripps-Howard had announced he would fight that phase of unionization to the death. The San Francisco Guild was to wait for two years and argue through two more negotiations before this concession was secured

1936-1937 NEGOTIATIONS

Organizing during the interval from its founding in the spring of 1934 until the first contracts were secured in December 1936 was slow, difficult work. In fact the drive for members was still in process in all editorial departments almost at the time the five local contracts were signed.

Return to the five-day week,abandoned early in 1936, first by the Chronicle,then by the Examiner and Call-Bulletin managements, was a first demand. Recognition of the Guild as

bargaining representative for all editorial department employes, equitable salary minima, and severance pay were other basic demands.

Correspondence between the Guild and the publishers was started in the spring of 1936. Bargaining began in August, when publishers consented for the first time to meet with Guild representatives. Then they were not sufficiently impressed with the local's strength or labor backing to accede to any basic concessions.

According to those Guildsmen active in the 1936 negotiations, two "outside" influences made themselves felt in the Guild's favor. They were:

(1) The current Guild strikes against Mr. Hearst's Milwaukee News and Seattle Post-Intelligencer which proved the Guild's sincerity and militancy in its efforts to secure the right to bargain for its membership.

(2) The American Newspaper Guild's legal fight for the reinstatement of Morris Watson, fired by Associated Press for Guild activity in October 1935 and in process of appeal to the Supreme Court.[1]

Subsequent to the calling of the successful Guild strike against the Seattle Post-Intelligencer in early August, which resulted in the paper's complete shutdown, the local Hearst management was ready and willing to conduct negotiations with the San Francisco Guild's committee. After the general

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1. The Supreme Court ordered Watson's reinstatement with back pay, in a decision handed down in April 1937.

water front tie-up began on October 29, all publishers involved had the incentive for concluding written agreements with the San Francisco Guild. The mobilized water front unions represented potentially powerful support for any local union "in trouble."

Results of the 1936-37 negotiations, in gains won, held positive implications in addition to immediate benefits secured. The Guild had "broken the ice" with the local managements of one independent and four powerful, chain-operated publications. Three of them were Hearst newspapers: Examiner, pioneer of the chain, Call-Bulletin, and Oakland Post-Enquirer. The Scripps-Howard News and the home-owned independent Chronicle at last had recognized the Guild in writing. This was the major concession won in the 1936 negotiations, the membership felt. Other real concessions were won in added job security, better working conditions, and salary increases; but ample room remained for further improvements to be bargained for in the following year's negotiations. With Guild recognition obtained, the membership could chart its program of requested improvements, knowing that its proposals would receive courteous and serious publisher attention.

Concessions represented major benefits to employes in the lower-wage brackets, some of whom received salary increases up to nearly $100 per month. The five-day week was restored, severance pay of one week for each year served to

a maximum of six weeks' severance total was granted, and substantial gains in auto expenses for editorial workers were other gains written into the contracts. No discrimination for membership in the Guild, annual vacations and sick-leave with pay, and no reduction in existing wages because of the signing of the contract were other guarantees. The contracts were signed in December 1936 and immediately became effective.

With the arguments for unionism given substance in the signed contracts, the Guild proceeded to campaign among editorial employes to stimulate interest and activity around the many additional benefits that should be made a part of negotiations for the 1937-1938 contracts. Policing of the contract also was a source of interest for the membership.

There was for instance the matter of salaries. All five-year men on the morning papers were to be paid $57.69 per week. There was nothing to compel publishers to replace five-year men with more five-year men. So a tendency developed to hire more workers in the lower-salary brackets instead of five-year men. The contracts for 1937-1938, profiting by the 1936-1937 experience, were to include a limitation-of-apprentices clause.

A Guild grievance committee was set up for the units. Complaints made to it were to be taken up with the publishers. Typical problems that grew out of contract enforcement included establishment of specified wage minima and machinery for adjustment of compensation for overtime.

Adjustments effected also included those of employes who had received no rating under the Guild contract, although many had served some years with their respective newspapers. Meetings with the publishers were sufficient to secure adequate settlements in practically every such case.

1937-1938 NEGOTIATIONS

By 1937 the Guild was prepared to negotiate for contract renewals over an enlarged jurisdictional scope including its majority in business office and classified advertising departments. At the Chronicle the editorial department already was recognized as a Guild bargaining unit; now its business office and classified advertising departments were organized.

In addition to the editorial department of the Examiner, the Guild asked the right to represent the business office. The classified advertising department meanwhile had been organized into an AFL local which had obtained a contract with the publisher, but inferior in many respects to what the Guild already had won or was proposing.

At the Call-Bulletin classified and business office jurisdiction was requested in addition to recognition of the Guild majority in the editorial department.

On the News the Guild asked the right to represent the classified advertising department employes in addition to the already established editorial unit. The Oakland Post-Enquirer had little organization outside of the editorial

department which had, however, one of the stablest union groups in the bay area.

The publishers did not dispute the Guild's claim to department-by-department jurisdiction, and negotiations on the above-mentioned points, started in January,were completed in April 1937. But outside of added jurisdiction, the Guild negotiators had been able to secure little else. Net gains amounted to a $2.50 raise in the afternoon editorial departments. The negotiating committee reported to the membership its almost complete lack of success in the face of a virtual deadlock with the publishers. The membership responded by participating in a secret-ballot strike vote at a meeting on March 23, 1938.The most impressive outcome was the expression of Guild solidarity and the membership's apparent determination to win its demands -- "the hard way" if necessary. That the Guild meant business was further indicated in the lining up of labor support, the formulation of complete plans for strike publicity, and the establishing of strike committees.

The election results were overwhelmingly in support of the negotiating committee's recommendations,which included strike action against the five newspapers involved, if last efforts to secure concessions from the publishers failed. The strike vote carried by 247 to 16. The election day had been announced for March 27, and notices were posted in the department offices of all newspapers about March 23. Negotiations were immediately resumed by the publishers after March

27, and the contract, written in three weeks of hard bargaining, was signed on April 18, 1938. Substantially all demands with the exception of the Guild Shop were met.

The demands: (1) Establishment of wage minima in the newly organized departments, (2) extension of the five-day week to the newly organized departments, (3) pay raises in all departments, (4) improved severance pay, from six to twenty-six weeks, (5) preferential re-hiring, (6) limited staff reductions, (7) limitation of apprentices (two-thirds of the staff must receive the top minima), (8) no pay reductions throughout the life of the contract, and (9) one contract for all departments for all newspapers.

Because the publishers tacitly had countered the Guild Shop demand with what the Guild membership felt were major concessions, this demand was dropped by consent of the Guild's International Executive Board, with the understanding that it would be the focal point and major issue of the 1939-1940 negotiations.

Substantial salary increases for business office personnel averaging twenty per cent were included in the agreement, with minimum guarantees in classified advertising departments, for the first time in the history of newspaper labor relations in the bay area.

With an improved standard contract and a year's experience in the policing of its agreements, plus the publishers' more complete acceptance of the Union as a going

concern, administration of the 1938-1939 contracts proceeded smoothly.

1939-1940 NEGOTIATIONS

By the time of the opening of negotiations for the 1939-1940 contract, the San Francisco-Oakland chapter of the American Newspaper Guild had attained its majority. For three successful years it had bargained for, won and administered increasing benefits for employes on one Oakland and all San Francisco dailies. Consolidating its strength in editorial departments, Guild organization had advanced into some business and classified advertising departments and held these outposts with attendant gains for the workers involved; and had suffered no defeats. It is an axiom of the labor movement that only so much can be gained and held without the union shop. Theoretically the union, unless it is able to perpetuate its proportion of membership in an office or plant, could gradually be weakened by dismissals of key union members and their replacement by non-union or anti-union employes, until a point is reached where the union has lost its majority. Improvements in wages, conditions of work, and added security can then be rescinded without effort by the management or maintained on a conditional basis, depending on the "good behavior" of the workers.

By 1939 the San Francisco local had reached the Rubicon. There was the possibility of much to lose if the Guild Shop were not secured in forthcoming contract negotiations. An intensive campaign of education in the Guild Shop

issue had been conducted over the past year, and by the time negotiations got under way the membership was prepared to argue through for the Guild Shop -- even if the argument had to be carried to the conclusive action of a strike.

The Guild Shop and its implement, industrial jurisdiction, were both won without the Union having to resort to the necessity of a strike vote, and San Francisco-Oakland chapter was able to greet the 1939 convention of the American Newspaper Guild, held in July in San Francisco, with a freshly signed, city-wide contract containing agreements reached with the publishers on both demands.

The Guild Shop proposal, whenever discussed, was militantly opposed by the publishers. They talked against it directly and indirectly in joint and individual, formal and informal meetings with their employes. In the light of the 1940 contracts the remarks of the Chronicle's general manager, Paul C. Smith, to his staff on December 7, 1937, on the subject of the Guild Shop, are interesting and significant. The meeting was intended to inform the Guild in advance of what stand the publishers would assume on the Guild Shop issue.

Taking up the Guild's proposals point by point, Smith presented his attitude on each, and upon reaching section 2a, the Guild Shop clause, as contained in the local's

proposed contract he said:

> This is the clause that you and I know as the 'guild shop' clause. My attitude is that there will be no Guild Shop on the San Francisco Chronicle and that while the clause may be considered subject to any kind of conversation (I am perfectly happy in publishers' meetings and in meeting with your negotiation committee to 'discuss' it from now until Doomsday!). So far as that clause or its theory is concerned, I cannot and willnot accede to a Guild shop situation in this newspaper. And should anything 'happen' as a result of that view our course will be determined from there on, by what does 'happen' and then we will determine if it 'happens', the time we wish to resume publication--or whether we wish to resume it at all!
>
> What are the reasons for that position? You have a right to ask. Only one thing I promise, I shall not refer directly or indirectly to the 'freedom of the press'. I have my own personal reasons for that. That is one thing I have agreed upon with the other members of the publishers' committee. I shall employ no bromides about the freedom of the press. Lately I have become very confused as to the meaning of the f-o-the-press anyway but that doesn't change the decision about the Guild shop proposals.[1]

Little difficulty was experienced in establishing the Guild's shop-wide jurisdiction, especially after the AFL local of classified advertising department employes on the Examiner voted to join the Guild. The AFL local's contract expired December 31, 1939, and on January 1 the department's approximately 120 employes came under the provisions of the Guild's city-wide contract,which they had assisted in negotiating. Additional departments of the one Oakland and four

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1. From "Transcript of Comments made by Paul C. Smith and others at a staff meeting on Tuesday, December 7, 1937," copies of which were furnished the staff by Mr. Smith.

San Francisco newspapers included for the first time as bargaining units were display advertising, inside circulation, and miscellaneous unclassified employes. Business office employes had been included in the 1938-1939 contracts. Improved wage minima and the five-day week were established as a result of the Guild's bargaining for the new departments. Also, the wage differential between the morning and afternoon newspapers' editorial departments was lowered. Most of the Publisher-Guild debate centered on the Guild Shop clause. It was pointed out to the publishers that the closed shop(hiring only from the union hiring list) in typographical departments had been effective for years. The Guild Shop permitted them to hire non-Guildsmen with the stipulation that only four out of five of such new employes hired were to become Guild members. It was agreed that present non-member employes need not join, but that four out of five new employes must join. However, in many cases such old employes did join the Guild.

The Guild Shop agreement as signed by the publishers is as follows:

> Section 2(a):It is understood and agreed by the parties hereto that not less than four out of every five persons hired by the Publisher after the effective date of this Agreement and coming under the terms thereof,shall become members of the Guild within ninety (90) days. If any employe who is required to join the Guild under the terms of this section fails to do so within the ninety (90)days specified, he shall be discharged.

As of the effective date of this Agreement and during the life of this Agreement, the Publisher agrees to furnish the Guild in writing the name of each person hired with the date thereof and the address and telephone number of such person.

(b) Any employe coming under the provisions of Section (a) who joins the Guild shall as a condition of continued employment remain a member of the Guild and if he becomes two months in arrears in dues or one month in arrears in assessments shall be subject to immediate dismissal following demand in writing from the Guild.

(c) Present employes who are members of the Guild shall as a condition of continued employment remain members of the Guild and if they become two months in arrears in dues or one month in arrears in assessments shall be subject to immediate discharge following demand in writing from the Guild.

(d) Present employes who subsequent to the signing of this Agreement join the Guild shall as a condition of continued employment remain members of the Guild and if they become two months in arrears in dues or one month in arrears in assessments shall be subject to immediate discharge following demand in writing from the Guild.

(e) Any member of the Guild who becomes in bad standing for any reason other than nonpayment of financial obligations as outlined in paragraphs (b), (c), and (d), upon expulsion from the Guild, shall be subject to immediate discharge.

(f) Any employe who is discharged under the provisions of paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), or (e), of this section shall receive no dismissal indemnity.

Section 14. Except as modified by Section 15, of this Agreement the management has exclusive authority to select employes from any source.

Section 15. There shall be no staff reductions solely because of the signing of this Agreement. When the Publisher makes discharges other

> than for cause, only Guild members shall be placed upon a list which shall receive preferential hiring without priority or seniority. Throughout the life of this contract,no person, other than executives, shall be hired by the Publisher except from this preferred list unless same is exhausted with respect to the general type of work for which an additional employe is desired; provided the Publisher, if he desires to hire some person with special talents, and no such person, in the judgment of the Publisher, is on the list, he may do so outside the list with notification to the Guild. The Publisher shall supply to the Guild the names of those persons who are placed upon the list provided for herein with the date of their discharge; and the Publisher shall notify the Guild when persons are hired from such list in accordance with this section.
>
> Except as modified by this agreement, the Publisher remains the judge of competency and of the number of employes required.

Thus SF-ONG greeted the 1939 National Convention, with the first metropolitan city-wide Guild Shop contract in the history of the Guild.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONVENTION

The American Newspaper Guild held its 1939 convention in San Francisco. Delegates heard that it had secured 111 contracts as compared with 77 the year before. This, as reported by the Employer Relations Committee, in the face of "the most concerted and intense publisher drive in Guild history." The convention gave itself over to a study of the many problems still facing the young organization. These were chiefly the organization of the remaining unorganized wire services (Hearst and the Associated Press), the technical problems of collective bargaining, finance, the publishers' war against the Guild Shop, problems arising from AFL-CIO rivalry, unemployment, and anti-union reaction in the legislatures.

While the Guild had signed a contract with the United Press wire service in 1938, covering bureaus throughout the country, the Hearst wire service, united under the King Features Syndicate and the Associated Press, remained to be signed. The ANG saw in the opposition of these services the

publishers' last attempt to block the steady march of the Guild.

The Hearst services had taken the position that the Guild must obtain a majority of all King Features employes before it could represent any of them, although the Guild had been recognized as bargaining agent for the International News Service and Photos. An NLRB election in King Features had been lost by only a few votes following the organization of a company-dominated union called"Kingsyn Employes Association." Charges of intimidation and coercion were made in the Hearst wire services and were being investigated by the NLRB, the convention was told.

The main force of the publishers' opposition came through the Associated Press. The Guild had been certified as the exclusive representative of eligible employes in eight AP bureaus and had attempted to bargain collectively with bureau chiefs in six of them, but without success.

The Committee on Wire Services developed a program for the organization of the entire staff of the giant service. It divided the country into six divisions: the Pacific Coast, Rocky Mountain, Eastern, Central, Southwest, and the Great Lakes,from which vantage points the Guild could more successfully level its attacks. Only by complete organization, the committee advised, could the problem ultimately be solved. The convention pointed out the necessity of organizing the commercial departments of the locals as well as the editorial

departments so that gains in one department could not be skillfully offset by company-dominated unions in the other. The publishers, it feared, were making capital of the AFL-CIO rivalry to encourage company-dominated unions or otherwise to discredit the labor movement. It drew attention to the advantages of a solid ANG base from which the movement could spread, as illustrated by the experience of the San Francisco-Oakland local in 1936-38. Once unionization was completed in the bay area, the movement spread to communities as distant as Sacramento, San Jose and Santa Rosa. This prefaced the formation of the Northern California District Council, composed of delegates from all accessible chapters who met regularly to discuss mutual problems and determine adequate solutions. In this way gains were made and consolidated.

The convention was informed of friendly relations with many of the AFL unions. In numerous instances unions of the rival organization willingly contributed money and experience to aid the young CIO union in the problems of collective bargaining and organization in new centers. The helpfulness of these groups to the San Francisco local during the critical "strike-vote" month of March 1938 was gratefully recorded.

Much discussion was given over to the problem of finances. The ultimate solution appeared to be the realization of the Guild Shop, with suspension or dismissal from the Guild as the forfeit for non-payment of dues.

The ANG stressed the importance of the Guild Shop clause in all contracts whenever possible. It recognized the publishers' hostility to this clause as summarized in a speech by Harper Sibley of the United States Chamber of Commerce before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, reported in Editor and Publisher as follows:

> Mr. Sibley...dismissed them (the principle of organization and collective bargaining) more intelligently and enthusiastically than even the most partisan Guild protagonist. The ASNE declared that it found no impropriety in the editorial people, but could not go along with the trade union affiliation. It is a pity that this liberal body did not make such a declaration a year or so ago, for insight makes us believe that it might have averted the trade union turn of the Guild and might have prevented many of the heartaches that the internal struggle has produced...the closed editorial shop more than any question of wages, hours or dismissal privileges is the wedge which will present an early end of the organization troubles. It is even more fundamental than the trade union phase, for it seems certain that trade unionism in editorial rooms will pass out of the picture as editorial people realize its lack of application to their aim. With the present Guild leadership(Broun,Ed.)acceptance by editors of the closed shop opens the door to the troubles which have not yet been imagined....It is our belief that Broun & Company, granting all that they have accomplished, have cost their members and thousands outside Guild ranks peace of mind and probably thousands of dollars. It was 90% unnecessary and if the present Guild leadership cannot adapt itself to newspaper principles, a change is in order. The closed shop is not an editorial room principle or practicality.[1]

In answer, the Employer Relations Committee cited instances where at least a modified form of the Guild Shop was operating successfully. It also charged the publishers

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1. Editor and Publisher, March 24, 1939.

with using the arguments against the closed shop as a blind to keep a group of non-Guildsmen in their offices for the ultimate purpose of eliminating the Guild entirely. The Committee forwarded the hope that "perhaps an increasing number of publishers will now be ready to give up both the pretense and hope and recognize that the Guild Shop is the civilized form of employer-employe relationship."

The problem of enforcing the Guild Shop where it had been obtained was new. In San Francisco, the Guild Shop had just been secured and the local could not report any instance in which a publisher had called upon the Guild to fill a vacancy.

The committee reporting on Labor Relations and Jurisdiction recommended that the Guild avoid jurisdictional disputes whenever possible. Such disputes, it pointed out, were used by publishers as anti-Guild ammunition. The influence of newspapermen, it felt, should be used to harmonize rival factions in the labor movement.

The Publications Committee gave credit to the extremely effective work done by the Guild Reporter as an aid to organization, and suggested that it become a weekly, rather than a semi-monthly, as soon as financial conditions would make this possible. A Labor Press Committee report recommended that the ANG assist in bettering local labor-sponsored papers. It suggested that working standards be improved on the labor press and that there be more correlation of avail-

able information on union newspapers.

The convention faced the problem of unemployment, with particular awareness of the conditions facing newsmen by the closing and merging of many publications throughout the country. National work-relief legislation was of such an inflexible nature that editorial workers had been discriminated against because of the peculiar nature of their work. Stringent residence requirements reacted against the traveling newsman when he sought WPA employment. This the ANG tried to remedy by campaigning for exemption of residence requirements for newsmen applying for work on the arts and writing projects. Subjection to the "pauper oath," required by most states for emergency employment, was also particularly galling to newsmen. The Committee on Unemployment reported that the San Antonio Guild had sponsored a state writers' project. The committee felt that ANG initiative could be effective in developing and furthering such projects in conjunction with cities and the Federal Government. The History of San Francisco Journalism project is an example of such cooperation. Other suggested solutions were the five-day, thirty-five-hour week, the hiring of vacation relief, and the increase of staffs to Guild-contract levels.

The legislative committee stressed the necessity of ANG action in federal, state and local legislation. Instances were cited where labor's hard-won gains had received terrific setbacks from reactionary legislatures, notably in Oregon,

Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. It pointed out that improvements taking a decade or more to gain were suddenly wiped out. It warned that facist tendencies must be checked if the Guild and other American labor units are to survive the attacks of industrial lobbyists and open-shop propagandists operating under various titles and fronts. The convention went on record actively to oppose efforts to weaken the National Labor Relations Act, to prevent sabotage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the WPA and Housing programs. It accepted the committee's recommendation to defeat anti-labor laws and social security "chiseling" by employers.

An effective arm of the ANG has been its Auxiliary Committee composed of labor-minded wives of Guildsmen. In its report to the convention it pointed out that due to lack of precedent the possibilities of the Auxiliary have been scarcely tapped. Its work in strikes has been notable. The committee, representing seven out of the ten existing auxiliaries, adopted a constitution during the convention, dedicated to the active support of the ANG. Its purpose as stated was to educate members in trade-unionism, Guild problems, and current political issues; to raise funds for local and national Guild emergencies; and to foster cooperation with all trade-unions and progressive organizations. It adopted the slogan, "A One-hundred Percent Organized Auxiliary for Every Local."

The six "depression years"-old union saw itself at the convention as the most powerful white-collar union in the country; in the world, as a matter of fact. It looked back over a series of impressive gains that unions of fifty years' standing had failed to achieve. It saw a future bright, and a prognosis positive. As executive vice-president Jonathan Eddy told the convention:

> We have reached a high degree of organization, and we must conduct ourselves so that we are increasingly the spokesman for all working newspapermen, not only just the Guild enthusiasts....The membership today, being that of a progressive trade union, is more and more competent to form opinions in the trade union and political sphere, and that if in the past some of us have had a tendency to attempt to lead the membership on controversial issues by the ear, so to speak, we can certainly dispense with any such approach today.[1]

In 1933-34 the American Newspaper Guild had a few contracts and many hopes. Six years later it had more than a hundred contracts and many more hopes. The San Francisco scene was typical of the growth of the ANG as a whole. From a small group of inexperienced but determined men and women the local has solidified the newsworkers of the bay area into one of the most powerful units in the nation, giving to them in return salary increases and working conditions among the best in the country and a growing participation in the American labor movement.

To the old adage, "Newspapermen can't organize," the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild has made its reply.

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1. From the mimeographed reports of the convention.

CHAPTER IX

GUILD PIONEERS

The Pacific Reporter of May 20, 1937, gave a retrospective picture of the Union's early days:

> Spring of 1934--Don Stevens is having a pipe dream--Slightly second hand--Garland Ashcraft in Ohio is also having a pipe dream--Takes it to Heywood Broun et al.--In San Francisco Don sniffs the pipe smoke--Jerked out of their complacency one day by Don, a small group of newspapermen find themselves talking of the Guild--A smaller group splits off--West, Barry, Stevens, Burgess, Thompson--The first committee call upon a brother newsman, urge him to take the first presidency--He agrees--Smoke from Don's pipe curls through the city rooms--Presently 60 or more--Heroes--Resistance ebbing--Respond to call for an organization meeting at the Press Club--These 60 become charter members of the Guild--War declared--Firings--Some diving for corners--Wounded, Burgess, Mason, Jennings,Thompson, Ward, Vaughn, Scofield--Burgess case flops--Jennings wins--But local membership is slowly dying of shell shock--Guild office folds--Retreat--Then to La Villa Dead Fish de Thompson atop Telegraph Hill--And to La Villa Ballantine, ditto.

It was no accident that from this low point the Union developed into one of the most powerful locals in the nation. Don Stevens had written to the national officers,

"Our message from the west is that of the earlier pioneers. 'The cowards never started and the weak died on the way.'"[1] And the local was forced to give more than lip-service to this statement. A few of the charter members had belonged to the short-lived News Writers' Union of 1919 and were aware of the martyrdom in pioneering. Others were soon to learn. Some were to become spectacular martyrs, others heroes without fanfare. And a small group was to become the solid core from which the Guild could not retreat and from which it eventually began to grow.

The local was unofficially born in a North Beach cafe when a group of newsmen decided to make Don Stevens' "pipe dream" a reality. They appointed themselves a committee to propagate the idea through the newsrooms. Papers were posted on the bulletin boards of the local newspapers containing a pledge of membership in the Guild and a four-point statement of purpose. After interested newsmen had affixed their signatures, a mass meeting was called at the Press Club. Don Stevens opened the meeting, and Redfern Mason was appointed temporary chairman. He made a vigorous "go out among them" organization speech, and organizing plans were drawn up. The meeting constituted itself a Guild unit, and a committee was elected to draft a constitution. The local was on its way.

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1. Guild Reporter, Jan. 1, 1936.

Early Guildsmen give Don Stevens much credit as the motivating force behind the embryonic organization. The son of a newspaperwoman and a father who was an editor and publisher of country dailies and weeklies, Stevens was born into the newspaper business, His boyhood was spent on the Yukon. After his discharge from the army in 1919, he studied journalism at the University of Montana and the University of Chicago. While at the latter institution he drew a comic strip twice a week for Julian Mason of the Chicago Evening Post, and later did much political cartooning for dailies in Montana. His newspaper career then led him west again where he worked on papers throughout the Pacific Slope. He was telegraph editor on the San Francisco Examiner when the Guild idea captured his imagination and energies. He was elected an international vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, and as the Guild Reporter of July 1, 1935, summed up his career: "His only hobby is the Guild, which is natural in view of his newspaper ancestry, his rebel Irish blood, and his frontier background."

The first local martyr was Louis Burgess. He was one of the middle-bracket salary men for whom the Guild could do little in a practical way, but who joined the organization from intellectual conviction. While this decision was to separate him from his chosen profession, he could look back on his experience and later say that the part he played in the organizing of the Guild, "in a fundamental,

social sense was the biggest journalistic feat of my career." This probably was climaxed at the St. Paul convention of the ANG, when after his discharge from the Examiner, he brought the delegates to their feet in a speech that clarified the issues before the young organization and pointed up the tasks ahead. He said in part:

> It is not me you are applauding. It is the boss. I didn't do anything. He did it all...
>
> Now the first issue is whether you will be with the men or the publishers. A great many arguments were made to us in the middle salary brackets that our interests were not with the men who were beginners. That is a real issue. Many of us have worked many years at the trade and have worked up and we are interested individually in our advancement.
>
> Take my own case. I was comfortably established in San Francisco. Then when I read about the Guild I said, "My God, I will have to join and I will have to give up this peace." I liked peace and quiet. After you have been in the business twenty years you need it. I thought I would remain neutral along with the boys who were lazy about it. But soon I learned that there could be no neutrality. You have either got to go with the men or with the publishers.
>
> Now the second choice. You have to choose between the progressives and the pussy-footers, sometimes stool-pigeons for the boss.
>
> Then there was a third choice....Are you going to be a worker or a shirker in the Guild? If you are against the conservatives and pussy-footers, you have to take office. My title was examiner of the chapter of the Guild and I hated the complaints that poured in. The routine bothered me and I didn't like it; but again you have got to be a worker and not a shirker....
>
> Now in conclusion I want to call your attention

> to the fact that an officer of the San Francisco Guild, Dean Jennings, who has worked on the San Francisco Call had the guts to come to this convention when the boss told him he needn't come back to his job. (Applause) That is the kind of a spirit we want to encourage in this Guild but we want to press the case before the NRA as it was pressed in San Francisco. We want to back the men who are turned out of their jobs on this thing. I feel pretty miserable about being thrown out. I am out of my industry.[1]

Burgess lost his case before the labor board and subsequently found a position with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Redfern Mason, a veteran music critic on the Examiner, was another casualty of discrimination against the Guild. The circumstances of his resignation are examined elsewhere in this study, but these do not conclude the services he rendered the Guild. As the second president of the local, he was instrumental in obtaining the good will of the labor movement for the young white-collar organization. Labor had regarded reporters with suspicion, because of the employer-biased manner in which it felt stories concerning labor were handled. Mason inaugurated a campaign to educate labor on a general understanding of a working newspaperman's position in regard to his paper's policy. Guild speakers appeared at labor meetings to explain this and point out that a reporter was not responsible for final rewriting of his stories. Labor, as well as the rest of the reading public,

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1. Guild Reporter, June 15, 1934.

was in the main ignorant of the struggles of the early Guild for organization, due to an alleged "conspiracy of silence" on the part of the newspapers. These problems were presented to labor and it was not slow in understanding and sympathizing with the Guildsmen's problems. A group of labor organizations even accepted Mason as their candidate for the office of mayor of San Francisco. He subsequently accepted a job as music critic on a Boston newspaper, which employment effectively refuted the charge that he was demoted by the Examiner for "lack of ability." The Guild quoted Bostonians who were surprised that a critic of his stature "should have wasted his talents for so long in a provincial city." Later he returned to retire in Mill Valley.

The Dean Jennings case won for the Guild a moral victory, but Jennings was never reinstated by his paper. He headed the campaign against the Oakland Tribune while eking out a living by free-lance writing. He constantly tried to bludgeon the lukewarm members into more belligerent attitudes, and influenced the Guild toward trade-union affiliation. He resigned from the organization to accept a position with the United States Department of Agriculture, and later turned to writing books.

During the early days of the Guild, Lloyd (Tiger) and Evelyn Thompson's apartment on Telegraph Hill was used as a headquarters. Thompson was dramatic editor of the Examiner when he was fired, at the same time as Louis Burgess.

He was among the first of the Guild martyrs. Mrs. Thompson was the first office secretary of the Guild, keeping the records of the organization the first few years without pay. Both played important parts in the organization and growth of the Guild.

Not all the Guild pioneers were men. As many of the less-hardy Guildsmen dived for cover, Betty Ballantine and Don Wiley tried to revive courage by personally issuing the local's fortnightly sheet, the Pacific Reporter. This work they carried on for a number of years until the local's position was firmly consolidated. In addition to this vital service, Miss Ballantine was secretary of the Guild in 1935 and was the first woman to be elected international vice-president of the ANG, a position she held from 1936 to 1938. She also handled the campaign to organize the commercial departments of the press. With indefatigable energy she wrote articles on the Guild for the Pacific Weekly while prosecuting heavy duties with the San Francisco News in general reporting, feature writing,and in conducting a daily column entitled, "Scene and Unseen." Eventually her health broke under the strain and she moved to Carmel. She is currently reported to be writing a novel about the Newspaper Guild. The bare recording of the many offices she held in the Guild and duties performed for it indicates the vast contribution she made to the organization.

A veteran of the moribund 1919 News Writers' Union was Bill Grattan, who lent invaluable experience to the new local. When the old union was organized after World War I, Grattan was with the Oakland Tribune, and took a leading part in its organization. The management offered no open opposition to the union, but the staff soon noticed that every two weeks or so someone would be fired, and that the person fired always "happened" to be a member of the Union. Soon the only members left were Grattan and the financial editor. Grattan and the editor could put two and two together. In recalling the experience he says, "One day the financial editor came to me privately and told me he had a job on a San Diego newspaper and would leave for that place in a few days. That gave me an idea. I wired a friend on the Salt Lake City Herald and he wired right back that I had a job on the paper there. I was soon on my way. We were the only two union men who beat the managing editor to the punch."

By the time the local Guild was formed, Grattan had returned to the bay area and was employed on the Post-Enquirer. His early experience left him with no weakening of his union convictions. He assisted in organizing the workers in the east bay and was elected the first vice-president of the San Francisco-Oakland local. When President Caylor resigned he took over the office until Redfern Mason was elected as second president. Grattan was chairman of the Post-Enquirer unit and a member of the Guild's executive

board until he left the employ of the paper in 1936. When the CIO Labor Herald was established in June 1937, he became its editor and developed it into one of the outstanding labor journals on the Pacific Coast.

Another early Guildsman who knew the penalties of unionism was Thomas Eugene (Pat) Frayne, Jr. In telling of his experience with the old union he says: "In 1919 when the News Writers' Union was organized in San Francisco, I joined it. Immediately I was shifted by my boss, Dan Beebe, then managing editor of the United Press, to 'country experience' which he declared I needed. I got it for six weeks on the Tulare Register and then moved to the Sacramento Star and worked under Guy P. Jones, Phil Sinnot, Fred McKechnie and Harold Matson, successive managing editors of that newspaper from 1919 to 1922." When the Guild was formed he became a charter member even though he was a "middle-bracket" salary man whom the organization could not aid materially. He staunchly remained with the Call-Bulletin unit when that group was demoralized after the Dean Jennings case. Through those stormy days he helped bring the unit back and build it into one of the strongest in the local. With Redfern Mason he signed a recommendation to the national Guild headquarters for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Estolv Ward was one of the three dismissed employes who precipitated the Tribune controversy. Following discharge and the unsuccessful attempt to get him reinstated, he took a

position as bailiff of the California Supreme Court at a salary of $300 per month plus extras. But his encounter with unionism had imbued him with sympathy for the underdog and he soon gave up the well-paid position and associated himself with the Alameda County CIO Council at a salary of $25 a week. During the Harry Bridges deportation hearings on Angel Island in the summer of 1939, he headed the Bridges Defense Committee and subsequently wrote a book entitled, "Harry Bridges on Trial." He later was elected executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League of California. He retains active Guild membership.

Don Wiley's journalistic career took him to Washington, New York, San Francisco, Honolulu, Japan, Siam and back to San Francisco. He returned to this city just as Don Stevens was having his "pipe dream" about a newspaper guild, and became a charter member. His dynamic influence was felt first during the Tribune controversy when, as he tells it, "Disgusted at the compromise policy of some Guildsmen, I rared back on my haunches and made probably the first mention of the possibility of a strike ever heard on the floor of a Guild meeting." He was one of the small group of "fanatics" that carried on the Tribune fight, and after working-hours trudged up Telegraph Hill to work until midnight editing and mimeographing the Pacific Reporter at the homes of Betty Ballantine and the Thompsons. Wiley restlessly participated in the seemingly endless rounds of negotiations which finally resulted in

contracts with the publishers. He served as chairman of the News unit and as a member of the executive council, and became the local's fifth president. He says that his biggest thrill was,"when, as Guild president,I relinquished the chair and made the opening speech in favor of a strike vote, which the negotiation committee got." His second biggest thrill was "trudging up Market Street behind Tom Mooney."His proudest moment came in 1939, "when the SF-ONG proclaimed me its first honorary member." He quit newspaper work in 1939 to enter the field of public relations. Forthright and energetic, Don Wiley was one of the small group who pushed the Guild through its crucial early phases and as president consolidated and made effective the gains won by the sacrifices of the pioneers.

The Call-Bulletin unit is today organized practically 100 per cent. Following the discharge of Dean Jennings in 1934, all but nine members resigned in mass at one Guild meeting. The local retreated to Telegraph Hill. One of those who didn't resign was Eric Erickson. He was a charter member of the Guild and had organized the Call-Bulletin unit. To record the fact that his unit is now one of the strongest chapters in the Guild is a commentary on Erickson's contribution to the organization. For three years he was secretary of the unit, and in 1936 was elected secretary of local. He was a member of every negotiation committee, chairman of the Call-Bulletin chapter, delegate to the 1938 and 1939 ANG con-

ventions, and was elected first vice-president of the local for 1940.

Another Guildsman who helped to establish the white-collar organization's respect with union labor was George Wilson, rewrite man on the News. He became active in the trade-union movement upon his arrival in San Francisco in 1934. He was elected first president of the San Francisco District Industrial Union Council when it was formed in 1937, and has held that post ever since.

A charter member from the Chronicle unit, James Patrick (Pat) Casey took time out from his prodigious newspaper and magazine writing to take active participation in Guild affairs. Twice vice-president of the local and president during the signing of the Guild Shop contract (1939-1940) with the San Francisco-Oakland publishers, he refused re-nomination the following year, but was named honorary president by acclamation. It was during his active presidential term that the local played host to the International Convention of the ANG. Educated in San Francisco, Casey has worked on newspapers from Paris to Honolulu.

Charles L. (Tad) Irvine came to the Guild in the summer of 1936, at a time when the organization throughout the country was facing concerted publisher opposition. It became apparent that the Guild must counterattack this opposition by a strong organizational campaign. To carry on this work on the Coast, the local accepted the services of

Irvine. In the spring of 1937 he became a part time organizer, being paid half of his salary by the local and half by the ANG. After the Guild convention of that year, he became one of ten full time international representatives. This was at the crucial time when the American Newspaper Guild quit the AFL and affiliated with the CIO. As part time organizer Irvine helped to found Guilds in Sacramento, Stockton, San Jose, the Peninsula, Santa Rosa, and Vallejo, all of which were later to comprise the Guild's Northern California District Council. As international representative of ANG, he went to Seattle and opened the strike against the Seattle Star, and after a few weeks in the Northwest returned to San Francisco to assist in organizing the commercial departments of the papers here. He left ANG to become executive secretary of the San Francisco local at the close of 1937, a position which he still retains.

No stranger to unionization in the newsroom is Oliver Morris who was a charter member of the Writers' Union, Des Moines chapel, in 1902, and is a charter member of the San Francisco Guild. After a long and varied news career in the West he retired to the freelance field in 1935 and with his wife, Jean, also a newswriter, helped organize the freelance unit in the local Guild, along with George Whitmore, Isom Shepard, William Southwood, Ida Fay Saxe, Lawrence Estavan and others. Morris now writes features for the Philadelphia Ledger Syndicate and is working on a history of horse

racing.

A latter-day pioneer is Phil Stone. She arrived in San Francisco in 1937, and as a freelance writer, immediately became active in the Guild. A correspondent for theater and motion picture journals, she is largely responsible for the success of the Guild's Front Page Frolics, to which she annually brings the cream of the entertainment world. Aside from being committee secretary and co-ordinator of the past three Frolics, she was chairman of the freelance unit for two successive terms.

Even an incomplete list of pioneers would be long. It would have to include Stan Bailey, William Beaton, Francis McCarthy, Roy Cummings, James K. McGee, Jimmy McFadden,Howard Hill, Dave Young, Reed Heustes, G. Patri, Morris Raiser, Ralph Bruenn, Luther Meyer, George West, John D. Barry, Louella Peterson, Don King, Sam Eubanks, Bob Shaw, Walter Peterson, Miriam Allen De Ford, and many others.

At the American Newspaper Guild convention at Toronto in 1938, a resolution was passed favoring the formation of an international auxiliary which would identify wives and families of Guild members with the movement. The formation of the American Newspaper Guild Auxiliary was authorized. Local auxiliary units were to be established in connection with the local Guild units. On February 12, 1938, the bay area auxiliary received formal recognition from the ANG and held its first membership meeting at the Press Club. The pioneers of this organization were Mrs. Ruth Erickson, Mrs.

Marjorie Wiley, Mrs. Mary Shaw, Mrs. Ruth Douglass, Mrs. Katherine (Bob) Rosendorf, Mrs. Ursula Irvine, and Mrs. Carolyn Heustis.

The following officers were elected: Mrs. Ruth Erickson, president; Mrs. Katherine Rosendorf, executive secretary; Mrs. Marjorie Wiley, vice-president; Mrs. Ruth Erickson, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Carolyn Heustis, secretary. District units were set up in the east bay, with Mrs. Sanders as chairman, and Mrs. Anderson as secretary. From these beginnings the auxiliary soon developed into a strong aid to the Guild. It publishes bulletins, interests wives of members in the Union, arranges for speakers to talk on Guild problems, as well as on other social topics. Mrs. Erickson resigned from the first presidency and was succeeded by Mrs. Marjorie Wiley, but was elected president the following year. The third president was Mrs. Douglass, and the fourth, Mrs. Angela Kinkead. No Guild officer needs to be told the value of this organization to the local, or of the amount of hard work its members contribute.

During the Guild convention in San Francisco an International Auxiliary was formed, with Mrs. Ruth Erickson its vice-president. Mrs. Katherine MacGrath of Chicago became president and Mrs. Marian Camozzi of Seattle, secretary-treasurer. At the same time plans were laid for a Trade Union Auxiliary Council for San Francisco.This was to include as many of the trade-union auxiliaries as possible. Mrs.

Erickson and Mrs. Douglass were active in organizing this council, Mrs. Douglass resigning as president of the Guild Auxiliary to become council secretary. It was formed in September 1939 with the auxiliaries of the Maritime Federation, the Mine, Mills and Smelters Union, and the Guild. The local auxiliary under the direction of Mrs. Erickson took upon itself the task of entertaining the delegates to the San Francisco convention in 1939.

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Possibly the best way to close the chapter on pioneers is to repeat Don Stevens' early message to the national officers: "The cowards never started and the weak died on the way."

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Following are briefed the aims and purposes of the American Newspaper Guild Auxiliary, subscribed to by the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild Auxiliary:

EXCERPTS FROM
CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER
GUILD AUXILIARY

ARTICLE I.--Name and Purpose

This body shall be known as the American Newspaper Guild Auxiliary.

Section 3. Purposes:
(a) To educate its members in trade-unionism, Guild problems, and current political issues.

(b) To take political action.
(c) To buy products made only and distributed only under conditions fair to organized labor.
(d) To assist unions by voluntary picketing.
(e) To raise funds for local Guild and International emergencies.
(f) To foster fullest cooperation with all trade union and other auxiliaries, union bodies and all progressive groups.

ARTICLE II.--Membership

Section 1. Families of members of the American Newspaper Guild shall be eligible to membership in the Auxiliary.

Section 3. No eligible person shall be barred from membership or penalized by reason of sex,race, or religious or political convictons.

ARTICLE IV.--International Officers

Section 1. There shall be an International Auxiliary Executive Board, to consist of the International officers of the ANGA elected one by one by a majority vote at the Convention. There shall be a president,secretary-treasurer and three vice-presidents, all to be elected at large.

Section 4. The International Auxiliary Executive Board officers shall be elected at each International Convention, and shall hold office until their successors are elected. The IAEB shall meet immediately before and immediately after such convention. The IAEB shall interpret this Constitution between Conventions.

ARTICLE V.--The Annual Convention

Section 2. In the International Convention each local shall be entitled to at least one vote. In addition, each local shall have one vote for the first twenty (20) members or major fraction thereof; and thereafter, one vote for each twenty (20) additional members or major fraction thereof.Each local shall be entitled to as many delegates as it has votes, but in any event shall be entitled to cast its full quota of votes.

ARTICLE VI.--Local Auxiliaries

Section 1. Locals shall be established only by charter granted by the IAEB. A charter shall be granted for only one auxiliary for each Guild local.

ARTICLE VII.--Amendments

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended at any Convention or by referendum.

ARTICLE VIII.--Referendums

Section 1. The IAEB shall submit to a referendum vote of the ANGA membership:

(a) Any motion upon its own initiative proposing a change in the ANGA Constitution or Convention policy.
(b) Any motion proposing a change in the Constitution or Convention policy, submitted by a local by membership action and endorsed by membership action by at least four additional locals, provided that the moving and seconding locals include at least five percent of the membership in good standing of the ANGA.

Constitution Committee
Eunice Dolan, Chairman
Betty Smith
Ursula Irvine
Dorothy Connelly
Sada Stevens
Andy Seller

Unanimously adopted Aug. 3, 1939.

Note: -- ANGA -- American Newspaper Guild Auxiliary.
IAEB -- International Auxiliary Executive Board.

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